REFERENCE ONLY



The Thoresby Society.

40B

Bound by
SPINK & THACKRAY
LEEDS Tel. 780353

THE

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

THORESBY SOCIETY

ESTABLISHED IN THE YEAR
MDCCCLXXXIX

VOLUME LIII

THE THORESBY MISCELLANY

Volume 15

THE THORESBY SOCIETY
23 CLARENDON ROAD
LEEDS
1973

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Thoresby Society

https://archive.org/details/thoresby034

CONTENTS

PART I (1971)

The Leeds Churchwardens, 1828-1850	*Derek Fraser*	1
Poor Law Politics in Leeds, 1833-1855	*Derek Fraser*	23
The Politics of Leeds Water	*Derek Fraser*	50
Improvement in Early Victorian Leeds	*Derek Fraser*	71
Thwaite Mill, Hunslet, and Thomas Cheek Hewes	*Stuart B. Smith*	82
Ebor House: a note	*Allister Lonsdale*	91

PART II (1972)

Extracts from the Journals of John Deakin Heaton	*Bryan and Dorothy Payne*	93
Kirkstall Forge and Monkish Iron-making	*R. A. Mott*	154
The Venerable Edmund Sykes of Leeds	*Rev. G. Bradley and A. Lonsdale*	167
Wintoun Street Baptist Church, 1870-1895	*R. J. Owen*	171

PART III (1973)

The Rise of James Kitson: Trades Union and Mechanics Institution, Leeds, 1826-1851	*R. J. Morris*	179
The Last Monks of Kirkstall Abbey	*Allister Lonsdale*	201
John Smeaton	*C. A. Lupton*	217
Arthington Nunnery	*C. A. Lupton*	224
Index		230

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

J. D. Heaton, M.D., F.R.C.P. By John Pettie, R.A., 1884.
Reproduced by permission of the University of Leeds
facing p. 93

Ellen Heaton. Possibly by Thomas Richmond.
Reproduced by permission of Mrs. R. Chaddock
facing p. 149

PLANS

Plan of Thwaite Mill, Hunslet *page* 83

Thwaite Mill: Key to Plan of Millwork *page* 84

Thwaite Mill: Plan of Millwork *page* 86

Thwaite Mill: Larger Wheel, view from driving side *page* 88

Thwaite Mill: Shaft of Big Wheel *page* 89

General Sketch of Seacroft Furnace. By John Smeaton 1779.
Re-drawn by Mr. F. L. Rosendale. Reproduced by permission of the Royal Society of London *facing p.* 218

PREFACE

IT IS USUALLY ASSUMED that the minor offices of urban government became objects of political ambition when, in the later 1870s, Victorian Liberal groups copied the caucus method of political organisation which had been developed in Birmingham. Clearly urban politics were placed on a more organised footing in the later Victorian period, but the politicising of the minor parochial and township offices had in fact occurred half a century earlier, in Leeds at least. The following four papers comprise an attempt to illustrate that parochial and township administration was an essential factor in the local struggle for power. Each paper may be taken separately, covering the themes of Church affairs, the Poor Law, Water Supply and Improvement, but there are important connections between them and they are offered as a quartet on urban politics in Victorian England.

DEREK FRASER.

University of Bradford,
April 1970.

THE LEEDS CHURCHWARDENS 1828-1850

by

DEREK FRASER, M.A., Ph.D.

In the early nineteenth century Leeds was governed by a self-elected Corporation and was unrepresented in Parliament. The avenues open for aspiring local politicians were therefore very limited if they did not belong to the oligarchy of Tory-Anglican woollen merchants and their families who had dominated the Corporation during the previous century. This élitist political system reflected the economic structure of the West Riding wool trade, which was effectively controlled by a relatively small number of wealthy and powerful Leeds merchants. In the half-century from the end of the American War of Independence, these merchants found themselves increasingly challenged by new men who were prepared to reject traditional caution in grasping for the fruits of the expanding American market. At the same time technological changes within the wool industry were undermining the dominance of the merchants, and some of them, like the famous Benjamin Gott, became manufacturers themselves. The whole Leeds economy was becoming more diversified as the flax spinning, engineering, tanning and coal industries were being developed, along with a host of consequent tertiary industries.[1]

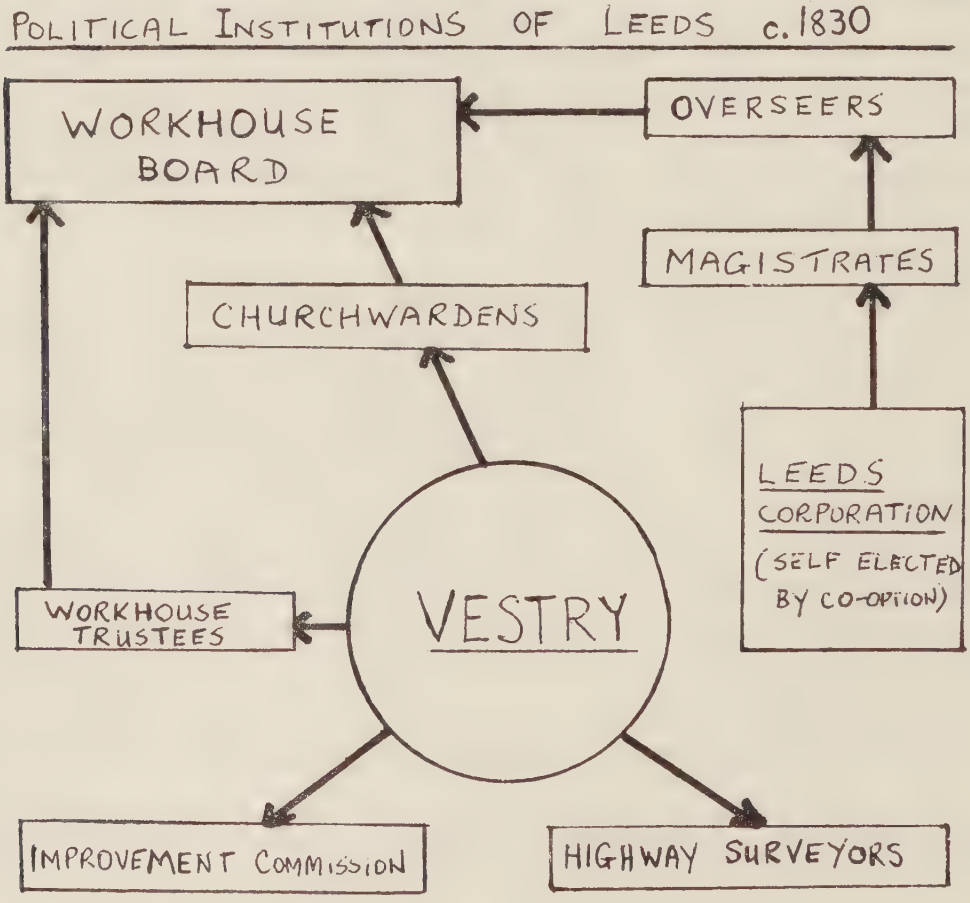
This changing economic structure was bound to have far-reaching political consequences, for the majority of the new merchants and manufacturers were Whig or Radical in politics and Nonconformist in religion. These groups, following the lead of Edward Baines of the *Leeds Mercury*, tried to get the political system changed by reforming Parliament and at the same time sought power within the existing framework. Thus, while bombarding Parliament with demands for the enfranchisement of Leeds, they participated in county elections, and the work of the Unitarian solicitor, Thomas William Tottie, in 1807, the candidature of the flax spinner, John Marshall, in 1826, and the imposition of Brougham in 1830 were all the result of the absence of borough

[1] R. G. Wilson, "Leeds Woollen Merchants 1700-1830" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Leeds 1966); W. G. Rimmer, "The Industrial Profile of Leeds 1740-1840", *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, L (1967), 130-57.

representation and the consequent diversion of attention to county politics.

Similarly within the borough the Whig-Radical groups could do nothing about a closed corporation until Parliament reformed local government, and so they were forced to turn to the parochial and township institutions which were the only avenues of local power open to them. The ratepayers of Leeds were entitled to assemble in the vestry of the Parish Church to elect various minor officers, and it was *via* the vestry that the political challenge to the traditional oligarchy began. A Liberal vestry emerged in the 1820s as a counterweight to a Tory Corporation just as a decade later in Manchester the Tory Churchwardens and the Police Commissioners counterbalanced the new Liberal Corporation.

The diagram, 'Political Institutions of Leeds, *c.* 1830', illustrates how participation in local politics was restricted to the field of parochial and township administration, and within this area the Churchwardens for Leeds township were the first to become politically contested. Each out-township nominated one Churchwarden, whose name was usually approved by the vestry at the time of the election of eight Churchwardens for Leeds township.



The post of churchwarden had three characteristics which made an administrative office worthy of political aspiration. First, its intrinsic status was high while other roads to social and political advancement were closed. Secondly, the office carried considerable power over parish affairs, and in addition, as the diagram shows, the Churchwardens held the balance of power on the Workhouse Board which administered the Poor Law in Leeds township. Finally, the Churchwardens were inextricably bound up with the controversial question of church rates, and the abolition of church rates locally was part of the national assault by Dissent against the established Church.

The commutation of tithes in Leeds by voluntary agreement with the Vicar in 1824 highlighted the anomalous position of church rates which, like tithes, were regarded by Leeds Dissenters as an unjust imposition. There were five types of expenditure which were financed out of church rates. Many argued that the only legitimate cost was that of maintaining the fabric of the church, but along with this went a more dubious expenditure, that of the staff which included entertainment. Thirdly, there were ecclesiastical dues and, fourthly, running costs involving such items as wine, bread, gas and printing. Finally, there were the capital costs of such things as the purchase of equipment and the enclosure of burial grounds.[2]

There was something of a boom in church rates in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and the attack upon parochial expenditure involved the identification of inefficiency and mis-appropriation. Edward Baines realised that the essential pre-requisite of effective control over expenditure was the publication of accounts, for until Leeds citizens knew how their money was being spent they could not judge whether it was being spent wisely. In 1819 Baines began his attack upon church rates following suspicions of peculation by the treasurer, and in 1822 the vestry refused to agree to further grants until accounts had been published.[3] Once this was accepted Baines had opened the way for 'economists' like the Wesleyan John Yewdall, a Briggate tea-dealer who 20 years later led the economists inside the Town Council, to object to specific items of expenditure. It was indeed through his work in parochial affairs that Baines established a

[2] The paragraph is based upon C. M. Elliott, "The Economic and Social History of the Principal Protestant Denominations in Leeds 1760-1844" (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford 1962), 177-81.

[3] *Leeds Mercury*, 17 April, 1 May 1819, 19 January 1822.

local reputation, and when his name was canvassed as a Parliamentary candidate in 1833 one of his supporters urged Leeds to 'discharge that debt of gratitude you owe him ... for having effected so many important economical reforms in the parochial affairs of our town'.[4]

There was a very good reason why an appeal to the ratepayers on church rates in the 1820s should have a much wider audience than simply extreme Dissenters in arms against the Anglican Church. The building of the three Parliamentary churches under the Million Act (Christ Church, Meadow Lane; St Mary's, Quarry Hill; and St Mark's, Woodhouse) placed increased burdens upon the rates which were to bear the costs of enclosure and of running the new churches. This raised the whole question of the proportions of costs borne by the separate divisions and townships of the borough. In particular, even Anglicans were prepared to comment on the inequity of status between these Parliamentary churches, apparently to be supported by public funds, and the proprietary churches, such as St John's, Holy Trinity, St Paul's in Park Square and St James' in York Street, which maintained themselves, as did the Anglican churches of the out-townships. Thus, for instance, Anglican worshippers at Holy Trinity or Holbeck were placed on the same footing as Dissenters, in that they were faced with the costs of maintaining their own chapels as well as those of other congregations. Hence there was general rejoicing when the Government abandoned a bill in 1828 which would have enabled Parliamentary churches to levy their own church rates.[5]

The vestry in Leeds in the later 1820s was thus a willing instrument for a change of control and policy in parish affairs. In 1828 John Armitage Buttrey, a woolstapler who was later an early example of a railway commuter, travelling by rail to Leeds from his eventual home at Horsforth Hall, became senior Churchwarden, having been first elected for the north-west division two years earlier.[6] In 1827 the practice had begun of the vestry voting on items of expenditure separately, and Buttrey, who was a reformer and who presided over the first Liberal board, began a régime of economy which reduced church rates substantially within five years. There is some doubt as to the actual figures, and the estimates, together with the political composition, are given in Table I.

[4] Handbill 9 December 1833, "Electors of the Borough of Leeds", in Representation of Leeds 1831-1841 (Thoresby Society Library SA 2).
[5] Elliott, *op. cit.*, 197-8.
[6] Vestry Minutes 1813-1828, 29 March 1826, 9 April 1828. (Leeds Parish Church.)

Table I : The Churchwardens of Leeds Township 1827-1833[7]

	Church Rates Collected			Political Composition	
	Mercury	Elliott "Money"	Elliott "Real"	Liberal	Tory
1827	842	1,526	1,526	4	4
1828	1,642	—	—	6	2
1829	1,461	906	964	5	3
1830	1,929	1,929	2,350	5	3
1831	1,753	1,714	1,848	5	3
1832	1,819	1,684	1,795	5	3
1833	974	614	633	6	2

Certainly in November 1832 a church rate of ¾d. on buildings and 4d. on land was levied, which was to be collected in 1833.[8] It was in that year that the Tories, bitter about their defeat in the first Parliamentary election for Leeds, made a determined attempt to recapture control of the vestry. Their whole organisation was set in motion:

> 'circulars are written — canvassers are out — lists are distributed — aldermen, parsons, lawyers sit in close conclave.'[9]

It was traditional for the Vicar to adjourn the vestry on Easter Sunday until the following Wednesday for the election of churchwardens, and on this occasion in April 1833 the Rev. Richard Fawcett found the vestry packed with a noisy crowd.

Baines led the attack against a Tory list of churchwardens which was to be proposed, and he claimed that Buttrey and his colleagues had reduced expenditure from £1,500 to £500. Few of the speakers could be heard above the din, and George Hirst eventually abandoned his attempt to put the Tory list as he was drowned by the cheers and hoots of the Liberals. Alderman Henry Hall expressed the view that only Anglicans should be elected as churchwardens, to which Baines replied that he accepted this if only Anglicans were forced to pay church rates.[10]

[7] The figures for the rates are derived from *Leeds Mercury*, 12 January 1839 and Elliott, *op. cit.*, 180. Elliott claims that the *Mercury* failed to take account of sums brought forward and his money figures are based on the Churchwardens' Account Book and the real values have been calculated using the Silberling Index. The composition is based upon Vestry Minutes 1813-1828, and 1828-1844. Political loyalty has been established from poll books and newspapers. The generic term Liberal has been used throughout to denote Whigs, Reformers, Radicals, etc. The term Dissenter which was sometimes used is not strictly appropriate since the party included Anglicans like Buttrey himself.

[8] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 63.

[9] *Leeds Mercury*, 13 April 1833.

[10] *Ibid.*, and Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 68-9.

In fact nobody was asked to pay church rates for the next year since, when the vestry met again in August, Buttrey announced that there was a balance of £437 from the previous year which would satisfy their expenses. The vestry passed a resolution, congratulating Buttrey on lessening 'the obnoxious tax of church rate', and the *Mercury* believed that Leeds now had the prospect of not having to face another church rate ever again.[11]

Having failed to unseat Buttrey and his colleagues in 1833, the Tories renewed their efforts in the Churchwardens' elections of 1834. Both parties were out in full force during the previous week and rival placards were displayed throughout the town. Liberal voters were warned that if the Tories gained control of the vestry they would not only levy church rates but also gain control of the Workhouse Board and use their influence there to falsify voters' lists.

Four thousand people attended the vestry to elect churchwardens, led, according to the *Intelligencer*, by 'Marshall's mill people in full array under the command of their overlookers'.[12] The proceedings were the most riotous ever seen in the Parish Church as a three-hour dispute arose over the first nomination. Baines, returned from London especially for the meeting, and George Newton proposed Buttrey as Churchwarden for the east division of the town and he was opposed by Robert Perring, editor of the *Intelligencer*. The normal procedure was for a show of hands, which on this occasion was overwhelmingly in Buttrey's favour. The Tories demanded a poll, and a violent argument ensued on whether the divisions should be voted on individually, and whether then or later. The Vicar stood by the Tories and refused to allow a poll individually and in the vestry. Amid growing outcry several people were threatened with prosecutions for brawling in church, and eventually the exasperated Fawcett left the meeting:

> 'The plan was to bully, to beat down, to tire out the Chairman, to intimidate the opponents of Orange monopoly — the meeting therefore acted upon their instructions and refused anything like fair play.'[13]

The 'fair play' was needed in the Tories' opinion because they claimed that the meeting was packed by non-voters and only a poll would allow the ratepayers a fair expression of their wishes.

The meeting was left in the hands of the Liberals who placed

[11] *Leeds Mercury*, 10 August 1833; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 73.
[12] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 April 1834. (This was denied by the *Leeds Mercury*, 12 April 1834.)
[13] *Ibid.*

Robert Baker in the chair and proceeded to elect all the other Churchwardens, whose names were then entered into the vestry minutes as though nothing untoward had happened. The demand for a poll was denounced in the press as merely a manoeuvre to 'gratify party spleen' and to unseat Buttrey by 'a few snarling poll brawling Tories'.[14]

Again the Tories had been repulsed and so now they resorted to the law, and a protest was entered claiming that the Churchwardens' elections were illegal and thus invalid. They had to begin proceedings in the Court of King's Bench before November 1834, otherwise the elections would stand. On the face of it the Tories had a good legal case. They had demanded a poll which had not been granted and this was how Stephen Lushington saw it in issuing a *mandamus* to order proper Churchwardens' elections to take place.[15] The Tories were jubilant, for the decision had shown that Baines and Buttrey were not above the law and they claimed that all they wanted was 'a fair participation of power'.[16]

The Tories saw it as a contest between Church and Dissent, while the Liberals, emphasising that Buttrey was an Anglican, denied this, believing it to be a challenge of economy and extravagance. Robert Perring and George Hirst had their opportunity for a poll but the slow process of the law had left them in an awkward position. By the time the *mandamus* had been issued in February 1835, it was only eight weeks before the next Churchwardens' elections, and so even if they went to a poll and won it, they would still have to fight again within a few weeks. In order to overcome this, William Wailes and Thomas Townsend Dibb, two Tory solicitors, were sent to plead for a compromise — half the churchwardens to be Tories, half Liberal. This was flatly rejected on the grounds that the Tories already controlled the Corporation and were not prepared to share that control.[17]

Thus, only several weeks after the general election of 1835, Leeds was again in the heat of party political warfare just as strong as at the time of a Parliamentary contest. Rival handbills and placards appeared which denounced their opponents in violent

[14] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times*, 5 April 1834; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 84.
[15] Lushington's decision (*Mandamus on the Choice of Churchwardens, King and Churchwardens of Leeds*) assumed that elections had not taken place. A copy has survived in the Baines MSS. (Leeds City Archives).
[16] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 February 1835.
[17] *Leeds Mercury*, 21 February 1835. A Tory handbill denounced this refusal as evidence of a wish to make 'this Borough a scene of continued agitation'.

terms. Tories were characterised as 'these Litigators, these Despisers of the Votes of Vestries', while Liberals were simply 'the enemies of the Church'. When the vestry meeting was held the Liberals showed themselves nice lawyers by claiming that due notice of the meeting had not been given and so the meeting was postponed a further week.[18]

After all this there was an anticlimax, for in view of the time factor the Tories, despite Perring's opposition,[19] decided not to contest the elections so that all the Churchwardens except one were re-elected and the anticipated poll did not take place.[20] However, it was the timing, not the intention, that was doubtful, for the Tories had lost faith in these rowdy vestry meetings which exhibited 'sans culotteism in one of its worst forms'.[21] Indeed, one of the placards of February 1835 had promised to 'pour on the heads of the lovers of incessant agitation the accumulated indignation of an insulted parish'.[22]

The desire for a poll had thus been postponed and not abandoned, and so at the next vestry meeting William Wailes demanded a poll in six divisions of Leeds and in two of the out-townships (Bramley and Headingley). This time the meeting was a quiet, orderly one, and the 1834 Tory demand to adjourn for a poll on the whole list was not opposed by the Liberals. Edward Baines Junior enquired at the end whether the Tories did really want a poll and mocked the Tories for having every other position of patronage in the town, yet still desiring this. The Tories were not to be put off and so an eight-day poll was granted, open to all ratepayers, including women.

[18] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer,* 21 February 1835. It is interesting to note that Baines Junior and Perring were both in the Vestry Room to argue the legal case about notice while the majority of the crowd waited, as usual, in the choir of the Church. In the *Mercury* and *Intelligencer* there was a full report of the legal argument but the *Leeds Times,* 21 February 1835, began its report only when the rival leaders emerged from the vestry to announce the postponement. This showed that Geoffrey Martin Bingley of the *Leeds Times* was not a member of the Liberal clique in this activity.

[19] This may be surmised from his condemnation, in an editorial in *Leeds Intelligencer,* 28 February 1835, of a placard announcing the postponement of any poll until Easter when the 1835 elections would be held. *Leeds Mercury,* 7 March 1835, stated clearly that Perring had been abandoned by his friends.

[20] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Times,* 28 February 1835; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 102, contained copy of the notice of the *mandamus* and a plan of how the poll would have been organised had a poll been demanded.

[21] *Leeds Intelligencer,* 21 February 1835.

[22] *Leeds Mercury,* 28 February 1835.

Both sides mobilised their resources, and rival bills were produced with a full list of the eight candidates on either side, blue for the Tories, orange for the Liberals.[23] It was fought in the same way as a Parliamentary election, with clear party divisions. There were also clear divisions on how the contest was regarded. As before, the Tories viewed the present churchwardens as enemies of the Church, supported by those who were intent on her destruction. The Liberals wanted church reform but saw the contest more in the light of parochial economy and even believed many Tories would do likewise. In the previous year when a poll was anticipated, Baines had written from London to his son:

> 'The Tories have often talked of turning out Mr Buttrey but they have never yet succeeded, indeed the parishioners unless they prefer extravagance to economy will never allow it. Nor would a poll by plurality of votes save them for the Tories around them would rather pay 300£ a year than 1500£ and many would vote for Mr B. on that ground.'[24]

This proved to be a judicious prophecy and at the end of the poll the figures stood for the east division:

J. A. Buttrey	.	4,551
William Maud	.	1,625

There were only minor variations in the other seven contests and so the Liberal churchwardens were resoundingly elected.[25]

The poll had something of an unpleasant aftermath, since there was the problem of the expenses incurred which amounted to some £200. The question was, who should pay? The Vicar agreed to pay the legal fees himself, and a bill for £40 from Perring later turned out to have been sent in error, since virtually all of it was due from the blue committee.[26] This left a net amount of £134, and the vestry passed a resolution, proposed by James Musgrave and Samuel Clapham, that since the poll had been

> 'to the serious annoyance of the parishioners and (led to) the interruption of industry and tranquility ... (and was) an insult to the Vestry and a factious annoyance to the Parish'

those who demanded the poll ought to pay for it.[27] Perring,

[23] One of each has survived in Representation of Leeds 1831-1841.

[24] Baines MSS., Baines to Edward Baines Junior, 15 March 1834 (Leeds City Archives).

[25] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Times,* 2 May 1835; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 111.

[26] It appeared that £40 was the gross amount owed to Perring and since £37 was due from the Tories the *Leeds Mercury,* 27 June, 4 July 1835, accused Perring of having a financial interest in prolonging the struggle.

[27] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 113-4.

regarded by the Liberals as the driving force behind the Tories in this matter, was furious and denounced the decision as illegal, just as illegal as the refusal of a poll in 1834. He believed that the costs ought to come out of church rates, which had not been levied for two years.[28]

Though nothing to do with the poll, a church rate was granted at the end of 1835 to meet the normal running costs of services in the church. One section of the Liberals, led by the Unitarian wool merchant, Darnton Lupton, was against any church rate being levied and would tolerate only the minimum of expenses; Buttrey claimed that they must provide bread and wine for the sacrament and for this they needed a ½d. rate. Joseph Lees, a schoolmaster who had been prominent in the Leeds Political Union, reminded the vestry that they had put the Liberal churchwardens in and they could not leave them in the lurch to pay the expenses themselves. Thus for the last time a church rate was levied in Leeds, demanded by Liberal churchwardens and granted by a Liberal vestry.[29]

A few months later Buttrey's régime, which had effectively abolished church rates in Leeds, came to an end. A completely new Liberal list was elected in April 1836 with Edward Johnson, a manufacturers' agent, replacing Buttrey as senior Churchwarden.[30] The opening of the Corporation to popular election and the removal of the churchwardens from the Workhouse Board (which is discussed in the next paper) demoted the office of churchwarden in status and influence. Yet it had been a fruitful breeding-ground for Liberal politicians, and no less than five of the churchwardens elected in 1835 entered the Town Council at the beginning of 1836. In addition, the first aldermen of the reformed Corporation included the Methodist James Musgrave, who retained this position until his death in 1844 and who had first emerged politically as a churchwarden in 1827 and 1828. Stephen Mitchell, a councillor for south ward in 1839-1842, had been Churchwarden for the same division in the years 1829-1831,

[28] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 July 1835; no church rate was needed in August 1833 or August 1834.

[29] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Leeds Times*, 5 December 1835; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 123. There is perhaps some doubt as to whether this rate was ever actually *collected*, since neither the *Mercury* nor Elliott refers to any sums for 1836. The new régime of Dissenting churchwardens may have been unwilling to collect the rate but the important thing was that in December 1835 a Liberal-dominated vestry had been prepared to *grant* a rate.

[30] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 134-8; *Leeds Mercury*, 9 April, 14 July 1836.

and the engineer son-in-law of Matthew Murray, J. O. March, saw his early work as a churchwarden in 1832 and 1833 rewarded years later by his Mayoralty in 1862 and his years as an alderman from 1859 to 1865. Prominent Dissenters like the Independent flax-spinner John Wilkinson and the Unitarian cloth manufacturer William Musgrave also served their apprenticeship as churchwardens and blossomed later in the municipal field. Buttrey himself was a councillor for east ward from 1836 to 1841, and two of his Liberal Anglican colleagues had particularly distinguished municipal careers. Joseph Bateson, a cloth merchant and manufacturer, was an alderman for a quarter of a century, 1838-1862, and while Mayor in 1850 gave the most splendid ball in living memory. Peter Fairbairn, the self-made Scot who founded the great engineering empire which later became Fairbairn-Lawson, moved up the political ladder as his business career flourished. He was Churchwarden for two years from April 1834, councillor for west ward in the years 1836 to 1839 and 1841-2, alderman for five years in the 1850s, and was twice elected Mayor, in 1857 and 1858. When Queen Victoria stayed at Woodsley House, the Fairbairn residence, on her visit to open Leeds Town Hall, she rewarded her host with a knighthood. Such was the ultimate accolade for a political career which was launched from the humble office of churchwarden.

Buttrey, Bateson and Fairbairn were all Anglicans, while the majority of their political colleagues were Dissenters, and once Buttrey's régime was over, Dissenters tended to monopolise all of the vacancies. In political terms there was no real change, since from 1834 there had been seven Liberal churchwardens, the one remaining vacancy for Kirkgate always being filled by the personal nomination of the Vicar. In terms of church rates, however, economists like Buttrey, who persistently maintained that *some* legitimate expenses had to be incurred, were replaced by straight abolitionists who were much more hostile to the Church itself. Thus the failure of the Tory Anglican assault upon the parochial offices in the years 1833 to 1835 did not signify a willingness to leave the field open for Dissenters thereafter. To the Tory the levy of church rates involved the question of moral and legal right, but also touched on the whole concept in the 1830s of a conspiracy against the Church. Tories saw in most Liberal Dissenters potential anarchists who were intent on the eventual destruction of Church and Monarchy. As the chairman of a Conservative ward dinner put it:

> 'The Whigs of North-West ward were part and parcel of a mighty power which was at work in the British Dominions that was attempting the separation of Church and State and the ultimate destruction of the Protestant Religion.'[31]

At the local level this attack was most manifest in the election of churchwardens, hence the need to continue the fight.

This was a general reason for activity in the vestry; another was much more specific. The appointment of Walter Farquhar Hook to the Parish of Leeds in 1837 gave High Church Toryism a shot in the arm. The Hall family, in the person of Henry and his son Robert, were instrumental in getting Hook elected, yet influential though the Halls were, Hook did not command universal support among the Anglicans of Leeds. Three leading Leeds Tories, Edward Charlesworth, a banker, Thomas Shann, a wool manufacturer, and William Osburn, Junior, a publican,[32] presented an address against Hook, signed by 400, to the trustees who were to make the appointment.[33] If Hook was too right-wing for men like Charlesworth, Leeds really was getting a Vicar who would not compromise with the Dissenters. Hook's appointment was seen by the *Mercury* in the context of local politics: for what would be expected from these trustees?

> 'A great majority of them belong to the High Church party and are Tories of extreme opinions. Most of them too were members of the Old Corporation and the various mortifications they have received from the popular party seemed to have provoked them to recede to the furthest point from popular feelings on most subjects.'[34]

With Hook to lead the fight on the Church question in Leeds, the Liberals would not have things all their own way.

The relative peace of the 1836 election was a sharp contrast to the uproar of 1837, which was described by the *Leeds Times* as 'one of the most turbulent vestry meetings ever held in this town'.[35] The near riot broke out when the Liberals, led as usual

[31] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 December 1838. He went on to propose a toast 'Church and State — and may they never be separated by the hands of infidels and Whigs who are now arrayed against us.'

[32] Charlesworth and Shann were Tory Councillors for Mill Hill while Osburn had been closely associated with the Tory campaign in the 1832 election. He was the Osburn of 'Osburn's heady wine', a phrase used in the Liberal election literature of 1831-2.

[33] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 March 1837. The address and a rival one from 300 who favoured Hook are both printed in W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook* (1878) I, 314-6.

[34] *Leeds Mercury*, 25 March 1837.

[35] *Leeds Times*, 1 April 1837. Stephens, *op. cit.*, 373, described the parishioners who attended to elect their churchwardens as 'a large mob'.

by the younger Baines, disputed the right of the curate, the Rev. R. V. Taylor, to nominate the Vicar's Churchwarden in the absence of Hook, who had not yet arrived from Coventry.[36] Churchwardens, all Liberals, were eventually elected on a show of hands, but not before Taylor had been subjected to two hours' verbal abuse for refusing to put a motion condemning his own action in making the appointment of John Garland, who had been the Vicar's Churchwarden continuously since 1832.[37]

Hook probably congratulated Taylor on his action, and once he arrived in Leeds he was determined to keep these rowdy meetings out of the church and to stop 'profane outrages' like sitting on the holy table. He soon reprimanded the Churchwardens with their failure to provide for the Church properly and he prevailed upon them to call a vestry meeting to levy a church rate. Two years previously the Liberal wardens had managed to get a church rate of ½d. passed, and now in August 1837 George Nussey Junior and Edward Johnson proposed a similar rate. Hook's son-in-law allowed his admiration for the great man to reverse the historical truth when he recorded, 'The day was gained. The rate was passed'.[38] In fact the rate was refused on the motion of Darnton Lupton and the Baptist minister, J. E. Giles, perhaps due to Hook's own supercilious and reactionary attitude in claiming that the expenses would have to be met whether the vestry agreed or not.[39]

By 1838 Perring was congratulating Hook on the way he was rallying support for the Church in Leeds, and it was fear of his designs on the ratepayers' pockets to rebuild the Parish Church which prompted the Liberal press to urge a full attendance at the Churchwardens' elections of that year. The Liberals turned out in great numbers with orange placards and banners, and Baines Junior addressed the crowd on the evils of church rates and the virtues of the voluntary system. However, the expected Tory challenge did not materialise and the Liberal churchwardens were elected without opposition.[40] Hook clearly identified himself with

[36] *Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Mercury*, 1 April 1837.

[37] The dispute is reflected in the Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 157-60, where the list of churchwardens is signed by Taylor, Perring and Beckwith, which is followed by a protest against Taylor's action signed by Baines and 17 others. This in turn is followed by a protest by Perring that the entering of the first protest was illegal.

[38] Stephens, *op. cit.*, 377.

[39] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times*, 12, 19 August 1837; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 166-7.

[40] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 14, 21 April 1838; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 182.

the Tories, not least by his hurried return from the Continent to canvass and vote in the 1841 election, and Leeds Dissenters therefore felt that they must 'in pure and necessary self defence elect Dissenters to be Churchwardens'.[41] In 1839, 1840 and 1841 Liberal Dissenters were elected fairly comfortably, in the last year unopposed, and their party indemnified the Churchwardens for any expenses they would have to bear.

In addition to frustrating the Tory desire to levy church rates, the Liberals held meetings to petition against church rates generally. In December 1836, Goodman, Giles, Baines and Clapham found themselves opposed by a band of Tories led by Henry Hall, George Hirst and Perring. The Tories put up a good fight, though their amendment was defeated.[42] In the following spring the Tories decided against attending a Liberal meeting in support of the ministerial measure of abolishing church rates and instead held their own meeting in defence of church rates.[43]

Though Liberal Dissenters saw the whole question as a matter of conscience they always appealed to the ratepayers on the question of economy. Whatever the arguments over the equity of church rates, nobody could deny the Liberal claim that at least the Church's hands had been kept out of the ratepayers' pockets. Perring would never acknowledge the figures Baines used, yet the latter's claim that between 1800 and 1826 £40,000 had been levied in church rates in Leeds and a further £33,000 spent on "Parliamentary Churches" was never successfully countered. During Buttrey's tenure of office, church rates had been abolished in Leeds.

That the Dissenters were only interested in churchwardens as a means of opposing church rates was seen by two fiery and enthusiastic anti-Church meetings in 1840. At the first the growing hostility towards Hook and the church extension scheme spilled over into a direct attack upon church rates and the link between church and state. Two weeks later even more intemperate language was heard when not only church rates and the church establishment were criticised but also opposition was voiced to bishops sitting in the House of Lords.[44]

At both these meetings the leaders included Radicals like Samuel

[41] *Leeds Mercury*, 26 March 1842.
[42] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 December 1838. The Liberal petition eventually received 13,950 signatures.
[43] *Ibid.*, 1 April 1837.
[44] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 11, 25 April 1840.

Smiles, Hamer Stansfeld, George Goodman and Robert Craven who were soon to launch the Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association, the so-called 'Leeds New Move'. The Church question was at the heart of party politics and the Tories reacted in a political way, not by church activity but by a personal attack on Stansfeld. The authority of the Church was to be vindicated by the public disgrace of a political and religious Radical. Hamer Stansfeld was an alderman and a magistrate, and the Tories claimed that he had violated his oath in participating in the anti-Church meetings. In 1838 Perring had mooted the idea of questioning the validity of an official participating in Radical politics, and in April 1840 the idea was revived.[45]

Smiles had highlighted Stansfeld's position by commending the example set by an alderman in refusing to imitate his colleagues who had 'put a padlock on their mouths because of the oaths of office'.[46] The Tories began with a subtle ploy in moving in the Council a vote of thanks to the Mayor, William Smith, who had refused to call the anti-Church meeting because of his oath of office. Many Liberals abstained on this motion and it was carried, thus being an indirect attack on Stansfeld who had sworn the same oath as the Mayor and yet had participated.[47] The Tories thereafter came out into the open and Adam Hunter organised a petition to Lord Normanby, the Home Secretary, calling upon him to remove Stansfeld from the bench in the way that John Frost of Newport had been removed.

Stansfeld was in Prussia selling cloth while this attack was brewing and on his return he decided to make a stand on this issue, which he believed was crucial for Dissenters. If the Tories were right, that holding any official position immediately muzzled a Dissenter from speaking his mind, then this would effectively prevent Dissenters from participating in local government. He sought, therefore, to get the Council to state categorically that there was a distinction between the office and the man. In his oath he had sworn

> 'I will never exercise any power authority or influence which I may possess by virtue of the office of Alderman to injure or weaken the Protestant Church as it is by law established in England or to disturb the said Church, or the Bishops and Clergy of the said Church, in the

[45] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 22 September 1838, 25 April 1840.
[46] *Leeds Times*, 25 April 1840.
[47] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Leeds Times*, 16, 23 May 1840; Council Minutes, Vol. 5, 119 (Leeds Civic Hall).

possession of any rights or privileges to which such Church or the said Bishops and Clergy are or may be by law entitled.'[48]

Stansfeld argued that this oath did not preclude him as an *individual* from exercising his rights as a free citizen. His motion was carried but only just, for it needed the casting vote of the Mayor, who ironically had chosen to interpret the oath differently.[49]

At the two meetings in question in 1840 there had been no wavering on the Liberal side on the utter refusal ever again to tolerate a church rate in Leeds, yet during 1841 a situation arose where some Dissenters were prepared, as the lesser of two evils, to support the levy of a church rate. This had come about because of the need for a new burial ground, the necessity of which was made clear by the macabre discovery early in 1841 that grave-diggers were removing bodies from existing graves in order to make room for more recent corpses. At that time the question was aired only briefly and the *Mercury* did admit that if there was no other way then a new burial ground would have to be provided out of church rates.[50]

As the pressure of space grew so the problem became more acute and the Tories did not bother to contest the 1841 Church wardens' elections because they were so sure that a church rate was inevitable. Hook also assumed that this was the position and called a vestry meeting in December 1841 for the levy of a church rate to provide a new burial ground which, he said, Baines and the *Mercury* supported.[51] At a private meeting of Liberal Dissenters a split in the ranks occurred, for while a majority wished merely to refuse a church rate the two Baineses wished to propose some method of providing a new burial ground. Baines Junior was particularly incensed at what he viewed as a garbled report in the *Leeds Times* of a private meeting 'of the gentlemen who usually meet at the private arrangements of the Liberal Party for Parliamentary, Municipal, Registration and Church Rate contests and for other purposes'.[52] The Baineses had always been loath to publish details of these private meetings, going right back to the Leeds Association of Reform Bill days. In addition, the younger Baines

[48] Declaration Book, Vol. I, 54 (Leeds Civic Hall). This was the standard oath and the same as sworn by Magistrates and Councillors.

[49] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Leeds Times*, 1 August 1840; Council Minutes, Vol. 5, 153. Tory Councillors again raised this matter in 1841 when Stansfeld was active in the Parliamentary Reform Association.

[50] *Leeds Mercury*, 30 January 1841, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 16 January 1841, *Leeds Times*, 6 February 1841.

[51] *Leeds Times*, 27 November, 4 December 1841.

[52] *Leeds Mercury*, 24 December 1841.

resented the personal attack upon himself, since he had for eight years 'taken the most decided stand against the system and had (by the request of successive yearly meetings of the Liberals — *private* meetings they were and *never published*) for those eight years moved the Liberal Churchwardens at the vestries'.[53]

The man who thus led in previous vestries was now shouted down at the vestry meeting in December 1841, since the combination of Hook's statement about his co-operation and the attacks of the *Leeds Times* made Baines Junior appear in the popular mind a mere apologist for church rates. As he feared, the vestry enthusiastically rejected a church rate, yet at the same time refused him leave to move an amendment suggesting a possible solution.[54] Baines was therefore left to argue his case in the *Mercury* where he continued to maintain that a church rate would be tolerable for Dissenters on this occasion since they would benefit by the provision of parochial burial grounds. Since, however, Dissenters felt strongly against church rates he recommended either a joint stock company or a subscription, in neither of which, however, were Hook and the Anglicans prepared to participate.[55] Despite this fairly rational case the *Leeds Times* continued to complain of the *Mercury's* desertion of the Dissenters, which was all of a piece with the hostility of Baines towards the 'new move', so dear to Smiles. In contrast to the education dispute of 1847, Baines now took the pragmatic rather than the ideological line.[56]

The solution to the burial problem was eventually found in the Burial Grounds' Act of July 1842, which passed through Parliament in conjunction with the Leeds Improvement Act. The Act enabled the Town Council to provide burial grounds and separate consecrated from unconsecrated ground, thus satisfying both Anglicans and Dissenters and avoiding 'unpleasant collisions in Vestry Meetings on the subject of church rates'[57] though, as we shall see, it was not until the end of the 1840s that the whole issue was settled. By the time the 1842 Act had been passed the Liberals had relinquished control of the Churchwardens.

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer,* 18 December 1841.

[55] *Ibid.*, 1, 8, 15, 22 January 1842.

[56] In 1841-2 on the burial ground question Baines took the view that the practical need to provide burial grounds outweighted Dissenting opposition to church rates. In 1847, when many Dissenters took the view that the need to provide education for the masses outweighed Dissenters' opposition to state education, Baines persisted with the no-compromise voluntary principle.

[57] Report Book Municipal, Vol. I, 86 (Leeds Civic Hall).

In 1842 the Chartists participated in the elections and put up their own list. There were in fact three lists, a Chartist one proposed by William Briggs and Joshua Hobson, a Liberal one proposed by Baines Junior and J. Chiesman, and a High Church Tory one proposed by Richard Bramley and Thomas Tennant. Such was the overwhelming strength of the anti-Church party that Hook admitted 'the contest was between the Chartists and the Radicals'.[58] Even the leader of the church party in Leeds did not anticipate an Anglican success, and when the Chartist list was carried, Smiles remarked of the Church 'she is in the very paws of Chartism'.[59]

Since grave doubts rested on the status of many who had voted for the Chartist list, an appeal by the Liberals for a poll might have been expected. Yet there was none, and perhaps the Liberals were quite happy to leave the tedious duties of churchwarden to the Chartists (which included things like laundering surplices and sweeping the church), yet still be immune from church rates, since the new Churchwardens promised that they would not levy a rate.[60] It was above all else hostility to church rates which had initiated the Liberals' assault upon the vestry and the office of churchwarden. The *Intelligencer* had reported earlier a degree of intransigence on the part of some Liberals at the higher costs of running the new Parish Church which had been reopened in September 1841, and the election of the Chartists was something of a way out. In 1843 there was once more a three-cornered contest between Liberal, Chartist and Tory, but in 1844, 1845 and 1846 the Chartists were returned unopposed.[61]

By the mid-1840s the Churchwardens had ceased to be a really important political institution of Leeds. Denuded of power and status, the office was still attractive to the humble ranks of the Chartists who, like their Liberal predecessors two decades earlier, used the parochial and township offices to compensate for their inability to control superior offices. Where Liberals had been earlier moved by a desire for economy or for the abolition of church rates, Chartist churchwardens of the 1840s hoped to make the People's Charter live, to show that Chartists were capable of participating in the political system. Hook was happy to have

[58] Hook to Wood quoted in Stephens, *op. cit.*, II, 118.
[59] *Leeds Times*, 2 April 1842.
[60] *Leeds Mercury*, 16 April 1842.
[61] *Ibid.*, 22 April 1843; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 269; J. Rusby, *St Peter's at Leeds* (1896), 282-4.

working men as churchwardens, although when the Factory Bill of 1843 threatened to give the office (or a similar one) more responsible educational duties, he stated that 'it would never do for seven Chartists to be trustees'.[62] Nevertheless, on two occasions Hook publicly expressed his satisfaction with the way Chartists performed their duties, and it was his view that they were vastly superior to their Liberal Nonconformist predecessors.[63]

So long as there were no church rates the Liberals were content to ignore the office of Churchwarden, and by the 1840s Hook had passed through an enforced voluntaryism, necessitated by his inability to get a church rate, and had embarked on an Anglican appeal based on equity and intrinsic truth rather than on strict legality. His main concern was to widen the appeal of the Anglican Church, to give every poor man a pastor. This, he conceived, could be done by a plan, outlined in 1844 in a pastoral letter, which would divide the unwieldy and heavily populated Leeds Parish into 21 smaller parishes, each with a resident Vicar and enough free seats to accommodate the poor. The result would be, as far as Hook was concerned, that 'I shall divide this living and sink from Vicar of Leeds to Incumbent of St Peter's'.[64] Dissenters were immediately suspicious of a plan involving an 'enormous church extension and clergy multiplication', and Hook's subsequent Parliamentary bill was denounced as 'the "more Church" bill for Leeds ... for stocking Leeds with parish churches and clergymen'.[65] This attitude was replaced by indifference when it was realised that it would not affect church rates or interfere with Dissenters in any way.

Hook was prepared to give up something like £400 of his income in order to get his scheme through, since he believed that 'unless the Church of England can be made in the manufacturing districts the Church of the poor which she certainly is not now, her days are numbered'.[66] Thus the future of Anglicanism lay in directions other than the infringement of the consciences of Dissenters by compulsory contributions to the established Church. By 1846 Hook had in fact embraced the Nonconformist view:

> 'The Church has no more claim for exclusive pecuniary aid from the State or from any pecuniary aid at all, than is possessed by any other

[62] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 October 1843.
[63] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 April 1843, 13 April 1844.
[64] Stephens, *op. cit.*, II, 165.
[65] *Leeds Mercury*, 27 January 1844, *Leeds Times*, 22 June 1844; Cf.: *Leeds Intelligencer*, 20 January, 25 May, 29 June 1844.
[66] Stephens. *op. cit.*, II, 175.

> of those many corporations with which our country abounds. To call upon Parliament to vote any money for the exclusive support of the Church of England is to call upon Parliament to do what is unjust. The taxes are collected from persons of all religions and cannot be fairly expended for the exclusive maintenance of one.'[67]

When this was the theology preached by the Vicar of Leeds, Liberal Dissenters had no need to involve themselves in the affairs of the Anglican Church.

Hook was much less pliable on the question of burial dues which delayed the benefits expected from the Burial Act of 1842 and the new Municipal burial grounds which were opened in 1844. The problem was the surplice fee of 1s. 0d. on every burial to which the Vicar was entitled and which the Council after a debate decided should not be paid out of the rates. At first the same scale of fees was agreed for both the consecrated and unconsecrated positions, but on reconsideration it was felt that Anglicans should pay the surplice fee themselves, i.e. 1s. 0d. (1s. 7d. in Hunslet) higher than the burial fee for a Dissenter.[68]

Because of the higher burial fees for Anglicans, many continued in 1845, 1846 and 1847 to resort to the old parochial grounds at St Peter's and Quarry Hill, which had been condemned in 1840-41, and because of what Hook regarded as an injustice over surplice fees he refused to petition the Bishop of Ripon to close the old grounds. In 1847 a Liberal councillor jumped from relative obscurity into the political limelight by drawing attention to the burial question in the Council and in the press. Joseph Richardson, a Methodist upholsterer from west ward, made speeches in the Council and addressed letters to the press, pointing out that 2,000 burials a year were being made in the parochial grounds while only 137 burials had taken place at the new grounds at Burmantofts at an average cost to the ratepayer of £5. 8s. 6d. each, while at Hunslet the average cost was the ludicrous figure of £36. 8s. 5d. each.[69] Richardson managed single-handed to rekindle that righteous indignation about the 'pestilential burial grounds' which had produced the Burial Act of 1842, and his political reward came in his elevation to alderman in 1847.

Hook stood firm in 1847, refusing to budge until the offending

[67] W. F. Hook, *A Letter to the Lord Bishop of St David's* (1846), 38, quoted by Elliott, *op. cit.*, 202.

[68] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 November 1844, 22 February, 1 March 1845; Council Minutes Improvement Act, I, 268.

[69] *Leeds Times*, 14, 21, 28 August, 11 September 1847; Report Book Leeds Improvement Act, I, 243-8.

dual scale of charges had been dropped and his resolve was strengthened by the vociferous support he received from the Leeds Churchwardens, who for the first time for 20 years were all Tory Anglicans. In the 1847 election the Chartists had been defeated by the Tories who now regained their former empire.[70] William Brook, the leader of the Chartists, feared the reimposition of church rates but could not get Liberal support for a poll. This contrasts sharply with the policy pursued over the Highway Surveyors five years later, when similar Chartist control was threatened by a Tory attack. The difference was that whereas the Highway Surveyors still retained considerable power, largely because of the levy of a highway rate, the Churchwardens were a spent political force without real power. For a while the Chartist challenge was maintained but without success. The Tory Anglicans carried their lists in 1848, 1849 and 1850, in the latter two cases aided somewhat by Hook's partisan chairmanship.[71]

The main public activities of the Churchwardens in the later 1840s were to aid Hook on the burial question, particularly by flamboyantly officiating at burials in order to flout the authority of the Corporation. Hook had agreed to a commutation of the surplice fee in 1847 and the Bishop of Ripon had agreed to close the old burial grounds. The question of the chaplain's salary had not been resolved and the owners of private graves considered that their rights had been unjustly removed. *Private* burials thus continued and all the old disputes were reopened. Francis Carbutt, an extreme voluntary man on education in 1847, followed Baines's earlier lead by taking the practical view on the burial question in 1848. In November 1848 he persuaded the Council, with the casting vote of the Mayor, to pay the chaplain's salary of £80 a year. In January 1850 the Council agreed to pay £30 as a commutation of the surplice fees despite Joshua Barker's protest at what he called a church rate.[72] Thus in 1850 the burial question was settled and the last contested Churchwardens' election occurred.

[70] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10 April 1847.

[71] *Ibid.*, 29 April 1848, 14 April 1849, 6 April 1850. In 1849 Hook refused to adjourn from the vestry room to allow greater numbers to participate and in 1850 he declared the meeting closed before the Chartist list had been put. In passing it might be added that in 1852 he countered an expected challenge by holding the meeting two hours earlier than normal.

[72] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Times*, 4, 11 September, 2, 30 October 1847, 11, 18 November 1848, 5 January 1850; Council Minutes Improvement Act, 2, 127-33, 180-1; Report Book Leeds Improvement Act, I, 253-7. There was a short-lived period of uncertainty in March 1851 when the magistrates refused to uphold the legality of the order closing the grounds.

By mid-century the prevailing conditions which had politicised the office of churchwarden a quarter of a century earlier had disappeared. The enfranchisement of Leeds in 1832, the opening up of the Corporation and the bench in 1835 and even the imposition of the new Poor Law in 1844 all helped to reduce the status of the churchwarden. Its intrinsic status had been artificially enhanced by the absence of alternative avenues to power. The political power originally wielded both in parochial and Poor Law affairs had long since been removed and the Churchwarden had become simply a minor parochial official. Finally, the issue of church rates which had injected real controversy into the parochial politics of Leeds had been settled. Thus the election of churchwardens which had been in the early 1830s almost as momentous an event as a Parliamentary contest become in the early 1850s a two-minute ritual before a handful of people. The Churchwardens had been removed from Leeds politics.

POOR LAW POLITICS IN LEEDS 1833-1855*

by

DEREK FRASER, M.A., Ph.D.

IN MANY WAYS THE MOST IMPORTANT of the parochial and township bodies was the Workhouse Board which administered the Poor Law in Leeds township. Certainly as far as finance was concerned the levy of a poor rate was a much weightier matter than the levy of a church or highway rate. The cost of the Poor Law for Leeds township was the largest single item of expenditure in local affairs and, for instance, over £34,000 was levied in poor rates in 1832 compared with less than £2,000 in church rates.[1] The diagram of Political Institutions of Leeds *c.* 1830 (above, p. 2) illustrates how the Workhouse Board represented a delicate balance between the traditional oligarchy of the Corporation and the popular representation of the vestry.

Long before politics entered into Poor Law administration the Workhouse Board had evolved in the eighteenth century a structure which unconsciously recognised the informal political balance of forces within the township. The 13 Overseers were appointed by the Magistrates of the Corporation and all but two or three of these were invariably Tory. The 12 Trustees of the Workhouse elected by the vestry were invariably Liberal and the office of trustee was an avenue to political power just like that of churchwarden.[2] Hence the eight Churchwardens for Leeds township held the balance of power on the Workhouse Board, and this had been partly the reason for that office becoming political in the 1820s. Prior to 1828 the Churchwardens were Tory, after that they were Liberal, and Buttrey's régime therefore threw not only

* I am pleased to record my gratitude to Dr M. E. Rose, of Manchester University, who provided valuable assistance in identifying sources for this article.

[1] Cf.: December 1835 Church rate ½d., Poor rate 1s. 6d. on buildings and 2s. 3d. on land. In 1837 the Highway rate produced £4,693. The Corporation's expenditure before 1835 was in the region of £7,000 per annum.

[2] The Trustees elected in May 1835 included three future Liberal Councillors, those in November 1835 included four: Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 113, 123. The number of Overseers varied and according to one report was 11 in the 1820s, which was increased to 17 in the later 1830s.

parochial affairs but also Poor Law administration into the Liberal camp. The attempt by Robert Perring, editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer*, and his friends to win back control of the Churchwardens in the years 1833 to 1835[3] was as much as anything a ploy to restore Tory fortunes on the Workhouse Board. Although the Tory Overseers were acknowledged to be the senior partners, officially the Board was always referred to by its component parts.[4]

Relationships between the rival factions both within the Board and between the Board and the vestry were potentially explosive. Thus the simple matter of appointing a new master of the workhouse produced a series of power struggles in the vestry at the end of 1834. A quiet vestry meeting appointed William Farmery, a Tory, though without giving prior notice. Eyebrows were raised but nothing was done until Farmery's old post of Collector of Bastardy Arrears was given to Samuel Maud, a Liberal, by the Workhouse Board without reference to the vestry. Perring and his reporter, Beckwith, brought this up at a vestry meeting which censured the Board, despite a vigorous defence of it by Johnson, Lupton and the two Baineses. As a tit-for-tat Baines then raised the unconstitutional appointment of Farmery, which was quashed. In the end, at a later date, Farmery was appointed Master but Maud was replaced by George Smith as Collector.[5] On this occasion the Tories were trying to use the open vestry to counteract the efforts of the Liberals on the Workhouse Board. The defeat in 1835 in the Churchwarden's poll blocked two possible strategies. A victory would have left the Liberals in a minority on the Workhouse Board and it would have allowed the Tories to continue to appeal with some hope of success to the ratepayers.

With the control of the Workhouse Board beyond their grasp through open electioneering the Tories sought a way out through the law, and they challenged the custom which allowed the Trustees and the Churchwardens any place on the Workhouse Board. The issue which brought the breach between the Overseers

[3] See above, pp. 5-10.

[4] Cf.: two letters, M. Johnson to P.L.C. (Poor Law Commission), 11 September, 11 October 1834, frequent references to 'the Churchwardens, Overseers and Trustees'; also letter of R. Barr to P.L.C., 14 March 1835 'as solicitor to the Board of the Leeds Workhouse (comprising the Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor and certain Trustees appointed by the inhabitants to act with them)...' (P.R.O. MH 12/15224).

[5] See *Leeds Mercury*, 27 September, 8 November 1834; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 September, 25 October, 8, 29 November, 6 December 1834; *Leeds Times*, 6, 29 November 1834; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 88, 90, 97.

on the one hand and the Trustees and Churchwardens on the other to a head was the preparation of the electoral lists for the first Municipal election. There were two lists prepared and the difference between them was that the Tory Overseers had produced one list which left out the compounded ratepayers, while the Churchwardens and Liberal Overseers had prepared another which included them.[6] The decision of the revising barristers, that the list prepared by the Churchwardens had no validity, opened up enormous possibilities. If the Overseers were solely responsible for the electoral lists perhaps they were solely responsible for levying the poor rate and administering the Poor Law. According to the *Intelligencer*, 'Churchwardens are not Township Overseers of the poor and are mere interlopers at the Workhouse Board'.[7] The Overseers took legal advice of the Attorney-General and with his authority behind them began to administer the Poor Law alone.[8]

Normally the levying of a poor rate was not a momentous occurrence but the levying of the rate in December 1835 was a great turning point in parochial affairs, since the Overseers refused to admit the Churchwardens and Trustees to their deliberations. As soon as the new rate was passed and entered on the vestry minutes, six churchwardens, led by Buttrey, solemnly appended a protest to the minutes. This challenged the right of the Overseers to act alone and claimed for the Churchwardens and Trustees a share in the administration of the Poor Law.[9]

On the following evening 2,000 ratepayers attended the vestry to look into the 'late and present distracted state of the Workhouse Board'. They were in an angry mood and refused to allow William Atkinson to speak in defence of the Overseers, whose case was that their authority was being usurped. The view of the vestry was that the old system had for 100 years

> 'contained the Intelligence and philanthropy of men of all parties in the service of the town and has given the Ratepayers a wholesome influence over the expenditure of their money.'[10]

There was no doubt in Liberal minds that this move of the Overseers was activated solely by party spirit, while the Tories emphasised legality and, according to the law, the Trustees sat on the Workhouse Board 'by courtesy; the Churchwardens by

[6] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 October, 14 November 1835.
[7] *Ibid.*, 5 December 1835.
[8] *Ibid.*, 19 December 1935.
[9] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 124.
[10] *Ibid.*, 125.

usurpation'.[11] The impending change in the Corporation made this a somewhat self-defeating strategy, since the appointment of Liberal Magistrates was eventually reflected in a change in the political complexion of the Overseers also. In addition, it meant that when at some future time, as happened in the year 1830s, the Tories were able to control the vestry this would be no means of controlling the Workhouse Board as it had been up to 1835. Thus on the eve of losing control of the Corporation, the Tories appeared to regain control of the Workhouse Board and so remained in possession of an important slice of local patronage and power.

There was nothing for a Liberal vestry to do but take its own legal advice on the Overseers' claim to sole responsibility for the running of the Poor Law, which had placed the Churchwardens in so doubtful a position on the Workhouse Board. This move of the Overseers had been the result of a long history of party conflict over parish affairs, which was well described by Robert Baker:

> 'The Board room has long been a sort of arena for party politics on a small scale; ... of late politics have run high with us, the Trustees and Churchwardens chosen by the people in Vestry have been a little opposed to the overseers chosen by the magistrates and to such a pitch has this feeling been carried that public poor law business has been very much neglected and very bad feeling has existed. The affair has ended in the overseers taking Sir John Campbell's and Sir F. Pollock's opinions as to the legality of the votes of the Churchwardens and Trustees both of whom have decided in favour of the overseers. The confusion consequent on the latter decision which came a few days ago may be imagined.'[12]

Confusion there was indeed, for the Liberals had held high hopes that Pollock's opinion might differ from Campbell's and thus give them some legal claim to participate in the administration of the Poor Law. When Robert Barr, the solicitor to the Board, read out Pollock's opinion one of the Tory Overseers, Thomas Sidney, a tea merchant later to become a London Alderman and Tory candidate for Leeds in the 1852 election, with 'domineering insolence', took the minute book of the Workhouse Board from Buttrey, claiming that it could now be used only by the Overseers.[13]

The *Mercury's* suggestion that the vestry should nominate men

[11] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 26 December 1835.
[12] Baker to Poor Law Commission, 18 March 1836 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224).
[13] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 March 1836. This Minute Book would no doubt cast a great deal of light on the affairs of the Workhouse Board but unfortunately it has not survived.

suitable to be Overseers and recommend their appointment to the Magistrates was taken up the following week when an angry vestry meeting condemned the Tory break-up of the Workhouse Board 'for mere personal and party purposes'.[14] The transfer of municipal power and the subsequent appointment of 'Russell Justices' meant that the Liberals could now use the office of Overseer to regain control of the Poor Law administration in Leeds. Perring had suggested that parochial affairs ought now to be run on the principle of 'public usefulness instead of party animosity' and wanted an equal number of Overseers of each party to be chosen. Instead Darnton Lupton and his fellow Magistrates chose 10 Liberals and only three Tories so that two weeks after being confirmed in control of the Workhouse Board the Tory Overseers were ousted by the new Leeds magistracy and replaced by Liberals.[15]

The new Overseers in fact invited the Trustees and Churchwardens back to the Workhouse Board and there was now the possibility of a harmonious administration of the Poor Law. Party feeling could perhaps be banished simply because the Workhouse Board would now be the province of one party. The Liberals could expect to carry the vestry with them and always elect Liberal Trustees and Churchwardens, and the Liberal Magistrates could be expected to appoint Liberal Overseers. Yet this traditional arrangement could only be temporary, since the Tories, despite their failure to retain control, had shown that Poor Law administration in Leeds was contrary to the law and would have to be remodelled. As one of the Trustees, Matthew Johnson, put it, the Workhouse Board

> 'had been advised that they possess no authority in law to administer the Poor Laws in that Township; although their predecessors in office have for more than a hundred years performed all the acts necessary for the purpose.'[16]

Johnson himself led a deputation from Leeds, which was joined at the Poor Law Commission headquarters by Baines and Beckett, the town's M.P.s, to discuss what could be done. The advice was that the most active and efficient of the old Workhouse Board should be kept on to work with the new Overseers, possibly

[14] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Times,* 26 March 1836; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 131.
[15] *Leeds Intelligencer,* 19 March 1836; *Leeds Mercury,* 2 April 1836.
[16] M. Johnson to P.L.C., 23 April 1836 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224).

until the Commission had received a report from their local inspector, Alfred Powers.[17]

Powers, in his report, surveyed the recent history of the Workhouse Board in Leeds and explained that some of the old officers had been kept on since the new Overseers were inexperienced, and that in March 1837 another set of inexperienced Overseers would be appointed.[18] The only way a less transitory system could be introduced was if the Poor Law Amendment Act were applied to Leeds, and Powers advised that this should be done before March 1837. Powers cited three reasons for speedy action. First, the existing authorities were in favour of his recommendation. Secondly, and rather ironically as events turned out, if the new system were introduced in Leeds it would 'present an early example to the other large towns of the West Riding, the benefit of which will no doubt extend itself into Lancashire'. And thirdly, the quicker they assumed their authority the quicker the new guardians would be able to build a new workhouse.[19] The Poor Law Commission accepted most of Powers' recommendations and the election for a Board of 20 Guardians was fixed.[20]

The prospect of a Board of Guardians for Leeds put to the test both sides' frequently expressed desire to remove party politics from parochial affairs. The old party squabbling and the tri-partite division of the Workhouse Board could be forgotten and the new system could be introduced free of past associations and recriminations. Despite the loud claims both sides went into this election with party colours flying, and as usual each side blamed the other. Thus wrote the *Intelligencer*:

> 'It is at all times desirable that party politics should be excluded from matters connected with parochial affairs but the grasping spirit of our political opponents has turned the election of every petty parish officer into a question of party.'[21]

[17] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 23 April 1836; *Leeds Mercury*, 2 July 1836. E. Baines to P.L.C., 20 April 1836 (P.R.O., *loc. cit.*). There is no direct evidence that Powers was asked to report as a result of this meeting but it seems a likely explanation, since the arrangements were temporary and Powers sent in a long report (16 pages) shortly afterwards.

[18] A. Powers, Report on the Township of Leeds, 18 November 1836, 1-4 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224). The inexperience of the Overseers was made worse, though Powers failed to mention this, by the inexperience of the new Churchwardens.

[19] Powers, *op. cit.*, 8. He had pointed out on p. 6 that a new workhouse had been proposed and rejected by a vestry meeting and that only by the new system could they hope to have a new workhouse in Leeds.

[20] MS. note at the end of Powers' Report, dated 29 November 1836. They did not accept his idea that the election should be in wards (which is discussed below) nor his belief that the first set of Guardians should remain in office until March 1838.

[21] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 January 1837.

So it was a matter of party in self-defence, yet the following week the *Mercury* announced that because the Tories had put up a party list the Liberals would have to do the same even though they had wanted to avoid it.[22] This exchange could have been written about party in the Municipal Council or objections in the Revision Court or any other political matter. In Leeds it was always a case of a reluctant resort to party politics, merely because of the initiative taken by the other side, and in this case the election of Poor Law Guardians 'has been made entirely a party question . . . and all the excitement and mutual jealousies of parties have been entertained here in a very strong degree'.[23]

With such a keen interest felt by both parties it was important that the election should be conducted properly so that the defeated party could have no real complaint about the method of election. As it turned out, the election got to a state 'which whatever may be the result is not likely to give public satisfaction'.[24] Powers had warned in his earlier report that the election ought to be contested in wards, and the subsequent confusion over voting on a borough list of 20 vacancies proved him right and showed the 'inapplicability of the present provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act to the election of Guardians in very large towns'.[25]

Everything that could go wrong did in fact go wrong. The Overseers, having been assigned a district each by Powers, proceeded to act for whatever district took their fancy and so some ratepayers got two voting papers and others none at all. Voting papers with different lists of candidates were in circulation and many voting papers were not collected after the poll. The list of ratepayers was defective which resulted in many complaints about omission. When the Overseers refused to hold an appeal court which Powers had advised as the only way to bring the election to a satisfactory conclusion, he had no choice but to abandon the election as null and void.[26]

The Tories were quick to accuse the Overseers of partiality in their treatment of the electors, mainly because of the activity of one Overseer who was a candidate for the office of clerk, and the rumour gained ground that the Tories had in fact won the election which had only been nullified because of local Whig pressure

[22] *Leeds Mercury*, 14 January 1837.
[23] A. Powers to P.L.C., 13 January 1837, Report on the Leeds Poor Law Elections, 1 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224).
[24] *Ibid.*, 3.
[25] *Ibid.*, 2.
[26] *Ibid.*, 3-12; *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 January 1837.

brought to bear upon Powers. The *Intelligencer* contained this accusation, and John Beckwith, the paper's reporter, warned the Poor Law Commission that while it might be justified in collecting the outstanding voting papers there was no case for a new election simply because the Overseers and their party had been defeated.[27]

Though the story circulated freely in Leeds, especially among the Tories, there was no truth in it. This was not a case of underhand political pressure for it was much simpler than that: it was plain incompetence on the part of the Overseers. It must be remembered that this was their first year in office, with new Churchwardens, and as the *Leeds Times* pointed out, the election involved novel and difficult methods of voting.[28] Matthew Johnson later put it down to deficient election machinery,[29] which was the theme of Powers' report. In fact it is extremely unlikely that anyone knew the result of the election for so defective was it that it was pointless to count the votes, since both parties had said that they would go to King's Bench if defeated. This was not the sort of example the Poor Law Commission wished to set for the rest of the West Riding. Indeed, the study of the development of the Poor Law in the West Riding shows that the Commission would have been pleased to launch the new system in Leeds whichever party had won.[30] It was far more interested in getting a locally accepted Board of Guardians working efficiently than in the details of local party politics. Baines anticipated another election in March and wrote to the Liberal solicitor, Ikin,

> 'I should be glad if you and your friend Mr Edwd. Johnson would give attention and get other persons to do the same to the approaching Election of Guardians for the poor in the Leeds Union so that we may at all costs have a liberal Guardianship ... The Tories I have no doubt are working hard to secure success at the next election. I trust that our friends will not be less zealous nor less early in their movements.'[31]

In fact, though they might think of a new election, there was no

[27] J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 14 January 1837 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224); *Leeds Intelligencer*, 14, 21 January 1837.
[28] *Leeds Times*, 14 January 1837.
[29] *Select Committee on the Poor Law Amendment Act*, 1837-1838, XVIII, Evidence of M. Johnson, Q.4038, *et seq.*
[30] See M. E. Rose, "The Administration of the Poor Law in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1820-1855" (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1965).
[31] E. Baines to J. A. Ikin, 30 January 1837, Baines MSS. (Leeds City Archives).

alternative for the Poor Law Commission but to postpone another election indefinitely.[32]

This left the situation as it was after the Tories had obtained the legal decision about the responsibility of the Overseers, and it meant that the Overseers would be running the Poor Law themselves. The party politics of Poor Law administration exploded once more at the end of 1837 when George Evers, the Tory treasurer to the Workhouse Board, was dismissed for incompetence and replaced by a Liberal Overseer, Christopher Heaps. The salary for the post was increased from £120 to £250 a year, and this immediately gave rise to Tory accusations of corruption and the affair got the title 'the Heaps job'.[33]

The affair had unfortunate overtones. Evers was a Tory, Heaps a Liberal and an Overseer, and the latter's salary was double that of his predecessor, yet, as Matthew Johnson reported, Evers had not produced proper accounts, and in 1837 there had been a deficiency of £300 which left the Overseers no alternative but to dismiss him.[34] The situation produced by 'the Heaps job' was objectively summed up by Robert Barr, himself a Tory:

> 'The majority of the Workhouse Board happens to be of one political party and have for some time past been the subject of attacks and vituperation by the *Leeds Intelligencer* which were renewed on the removal of Mr Evers and the appointment of Mr Heaps as his successor.'[35]

Attacks in the press were followed up by letters from Beckwith to the Poor Law Commission, questioning the legality of Heaps' appointment. These attacks made the Overseers jumpy and they appealed urgently for the backing of the Commission in this matter.[36]

Eventually the Commission granted the authority, although the delay gave Beckwith a loophole for further harassment of the Board. The relevant dates were that Heaps was appointed on

[32] J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 17, 26 April 1837, asked whether they had 'wholly abandoned the intention to establish a Board of Guardians in Leeds'. The reply, P.L.C. to J. Beckwith, 4 May 1837, said that arrangements were being considered and a decision would be made public. In fact it was not until 1844 that the attempt was renewed in Leeds.

[33] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 October, 4 November 1837.

[34] M. Johnson to P.L.C., 11 June 1838 (P.R.O. MH 12/15224).

[35] R. Barr to P.L.C., 11 June 1838 (P.R.O., *loc. cit.*).

[36] J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 20 November 1837, 19 May, 8 June, 4 August 1838; R. Barr to P.L.C., 11 January 1838, urged the speedy granting of authority for the appointment 'for the Overseers' protection and for the sake of harmony'.

23 October 1837 by the Overseers who set out a formal appointment document on 24 January 1838. The Poor Law Commission's order approving the appointment was dated 9 January 1838,[37] and it was on the grounds that Heaps was paid for two months without authority that Beckwith objected to the Overseers' accounts in 1839. In this he was successful and the Magistrates struck out £54. 17s. 1d. which was the amount paid to Heaps in the interval until the authority had arrived. It was ironic that when the Commission was told of this it took a less stringent view about retrospective authority, and the Workhouse Board was informed that the authority dated from the original appointment.[38]

The successful objection to the Overseers' accounts was poor compensation for the sort of victory the Tories had originally looked for, since they had claimed that the appointment of paid officials rested with the vestry and not the Overseers.[39] They were in 1837-1838 finding out the basic weakness of their strategy in 1835-1836. It was perhaps natural for Tories, raised on close corporations and the like, to prefer less democratic control in parochial affairs, yet they chose to remove democratic control at the time when they were to lose possession of the body which effectively appointed magistrates. Under the old system the Workhouse Board was popularly controlled by the annual election of Trustees and Churchwardens in the vestry. Now, that democratic control was much more remote. Since Overseers were *appointed* and not elected the only way to gain control was first to control the Council, then appoint the Magistrates who could then in turn replace the Overseers. 'The Heaps job' showed that the Tories had denied themselves the access *via* the vestry to the Workhouse Board which their opponents had in earlier times. Thus wishing to remove Heaps altogether, Tories found that the limit of their achievement was merely the annulment of a small part of his salary.

Effective participation of Tories such as John Beckwith, who was something of a local expert in Poor Law administration and

[37] These dates were copied from the Minute Book of the Workhouse Board and forwarded to the Commission by Barr; R. Barr to P.L.C., 16 June 1838.

[38] C. Naylor to P.L.C., 27 May 1839; P.L..C. to C. Naylor, 8 July 1839. Naylor referred to the 'opposition from political motives of a certain party'.

[39] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4, 25 November 1837. This had certainly been the practice followed in 1834 over the Master of the Workhouse: see above, p. 24.

a frequent correspondent of Somerset House, had thus been short-circuited by the confirmation of the sole authority of the Overseers. Appointments remained in the gift of the Liberal interest and, while there was nothing so controversial as the 'Heaps job', politics remained a significant factor in the award of offices. On one occasion an office-holder became so involved in politics that he was forced to resign. George Greig, the agent of the Leeds Anti-Corn Law Association, decided that his official duties as a registrar of births, marriages and deaths ranked second in priority to his speaking engagements on behalf of free trade. He warned his employers that he was intending to resign, but in fact proved very reluctant to put this in writing and had to be prodded into so doing. Alfred Powers, the local Poor Law inspector, urged his immediate resignation:

> 'Mr Greig has, I believe, a long engagement as a lecturer from the Anti-Corn Law League and is not likely to be able to pay any further attention to his duties as Registrar ... he has latterly failed to give satisfaction in consequence of his avocations as Anti-Corn Law Lecturer.'[40]

It represented no change of a political character when Greig was replaced (on Powers' recommendation) by G. M. Bingley, former editor and by 1840 reporter for the radical *Leeds Times*. Bingley owed his appointment to the prevailing political wind and, as we shall see, he was one of the casualties when that wind changed.

Thus, although there were fewer public political confrontations by the end of the 1830s, politics underpinned Poor Law administration in Leeds and, for instance, a Manchester Poor Law inspector was able to highlight with great perception this essential element in the Leeds situation after only a few days in the town:

> 'Political party feeling prevails to a mischievous extent at Leeds — the parties are nearly balanced and it is scarcely possible to take any steps in Leeds township without exciting strong party spirit.'[41]

This was a very apposite comment not simply about Poor Law administration but about Leeds politics generally in the mid-nineteenth century. However, shortly after this one great cause of political disputes was removed, indirectly as a result of the Conservative victory in the 1841 election. The new Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, recommended the appointment of nine new magistrates for Leeds, all of them Tory. This opened the way for the end of exclusive political appointments of Overseers, which

[40] A. Powers to P.L.C., 18 May 1840 (P.R.O. MH 12/15225).
[41] C. Mott to P.L.C., 24 August 1841 (P.R.O. MH/15225).

had given rise to much Conservative protest, and from 1842 the plan was adopted of choosing one Overseer from each party for each of the eight wards of the township.[42] The elder Baines wanted to go even further and forget party labels entirely:

> 'the sooner they got rid of party the better; and the more they attended to the fitness of men for parochial duties and the less they attended to the particular colour men might wear the more fitly they would discharge their duties as magistrates.'[43]

This was asking a lot in the heated political atmosphere of Leeds, and Christopher Kemplay, proprietor of the *Intelligencer*, regarded the compromise as worthwhile, 'party has, after many years of injustice, been at length put on such an equilibrium as must to all reasonable ratepayers give satisfaction'.[44]

The introduction of the new Poor Law would certainly threaten that equilibrium since, as Matthew Johnson pointed out, any popular election would 'be conducted exclusively upon political grounds' and whichever party was victorious there would be a return to an exclusive political system.[45] There were other grounds of opposition from Leeds. The experience in the abortive election of 1837 did not persuade anyone that it would be easy to elect guardians in so large a parish, although one inspector confidently reported 'I could form a union at Leeds and introduce the rules and orders without much difficulty'.[46] Further, many of the improvements brought in by the 1834 Act, such as relieving officers, had been introduced in Leeds so that there appeared no reason to disturb that political balance which had evolved. However, from the Poor Law Commission's point of view, the over-riding reason was to be found in the disgraceful state of the Leeds Workhouse.

The Leeds Workhouse, situated in Lady Lane, which had been originally built in 1629 and had been enlarged in 1736, was hopelessly inadequate for the needs of a nineteenth-century industrial city. It was overcrowded, the dormitories, many of which were cellars, were said to be unfit for human habitation

[42] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 March, 6 April 1839; *Leeds Mercury*, 26 March, 9 April 1842, 8 April 1843.

[43] *Leeds Mercury*, 13 April 1844.

[44] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 April 1843. Cf.: letter from "One who will have a vote" in *Leeds Mercury*, 19 October 1844: 'A more respectable Board never managed the parochial affairs or acted with greater harmony and cordiality.'

[45] M. Johnson to P.L.C., 20 March 1844 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226).

[46] C. Mott to P.L.C., 20 January 1842 (P.R.O. MH 12/15225).

and the proximity of a refuse heap gave the institution a permanent noxious stench. The advantages of classification — separation of various types of paupers which Chadwick saw as the great virtue of a well-regulated workhouse — were denied to Leeds, and young and old, men and women, infirm and able-bodied were thrown together. The moral standards of the inmates were by public Victorian reckoning scandalously low, and this corrupted the young who even at the age of 12 to 14 were found copulating in the privies. A Poor Law inspector summed up conditions in the Leeds Workhouse with the comment, 'the arrangements are altogether discreditable to a civilized country'.[47]

Local opinion was aware of the need for a new workhouse, and Magistrates, Improvement Commissioners, Overseers and doctors reported to the Poor Law Commission in 1840 that the existing workhouse ought to be replaced, a view confirmed by the Manchester Poor Law inspector quoted earlier. The great stumbling block was that under a local act passed in 1809 the authority to build a new workhouse lay with the ratepayers in vestry and, as J. D. Luccock, a prominent Liberal Unitarian, explained, 'I fear a vestry would not sanction the expenditure of so much money however necessary it might be.'[48] In the early 1840s the view gained ground that the imposition of the new Poor Law in Leeds would effectively by-pass the vestry and so lead to the building of a new workhouse. Leeds was in any case overdue for a change, and elsewhere in the north the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was already in operation.[49] The question of the workhouse clinched the issue, for it was confidently expected that a new Board of Guardians would build the much needed new workhouse.

The local inspector, Charles Clements, learned from the mistakes of 1837 and advised the Commission to hold the elections in wards, which was accepted. He wished also for Leeds township to be joined to the northern out-townships of Potter Newton, Chapel Allerton and Headingley, since 'the principal manufacturers connected with the town have their country houses in these townships' and a combined union might induce the larger rate-

[47] Report of Charles Clements, 20 January 1843 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226). The whole paragraph is based on Clements' report which contains evidence supplied by Christopher Heaps and Matthew Johnson.

[48] J. D. Luccock to P.L.C., 15 June 1840. 21 June 1841 (P.R.O. MH 12/15225).

[49] Cf.: E. C. Midwinter, *Social Administration in Lancashire 1830-1860* (1969) 19.

payers to participate in the running of the Poor Law.[50] This amalgamation did not occur until 1869 and so Clements arranged for the first election to be held in December 1844 for Leeds township alone, with 18 Guardians shared by the eight wards.

Once more a Poor Law election challenged all those pious aspirations about removing party politics from parochial administration. Matthew Johnson, a Liberal Overseer for over 20 years, urged delay in the introduction of the new system because he knew it would re-admit partisan politics into the Poor Law. He admitted that his own party would want exclusive control, whereas the old system enabled a shared participation between the parties.[51] Sure enough the Liberals put up a party list, using as an excuse the existence of a Tory list, which in turn was justified in Tory minds by the exclusive behaviour of Liberals on the Town Council, especially over the election of Aldermen.[52] The Poor Law election occurred one month after the Council had once more refused to elect any Tory Aldermen, and so the Tories pursued political power through the Poor Law as a compensation for their disappointments in the Town Council. No excuses were offered in defence of the Chartist list. The result was a resounding win for the Tories, who captured 15 of the 18 seats, the remainder going to the Chartists.[53] Thus the institutional change involved in the introduction of the new Poor Law resulted in the control of the Poor Law in Leeds reverting to the Tories who had reluctantly given it up after the brief ascendancy in 1836.

The new political masters soon made their presence felt by dismissing two relieving officers and two registrars of births, marriages and deaths and, above all, by replacing the Clerk, Christopher Heaps, notorious in Tory legend because of the 'Heaps job' of 1837, with one of their favourite sons, John Beckwith, assistant editor of the *Intelligencer*.[54] Beckwith's undoubted familiarity with Poor Law matters made him a reasonable choice but his appointment, together with that of Edward Auty, Tory party agent, as registrar and others of a political nature indicate that a political spoils system was at work. Bingley, formerly reporter with the *Leeds Times* and one of the dismissed registrars, complained bitterly that 'no other than political motives' influenced

[50] C. Clements to P.L.C., 4 November 1843 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226).
[51] M. Johnson to P.L.C., 20 March 1844 (*loc. cit.*).
[52] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer*, 7, 14 December 1844.
[53] *Ibid.*, 21, 28 December 1844.
[54] Poor Law Guardians Minute Book, No. 1, 18 (hereafter referred to as Guardians Minutes) (Leeds City Archives).

the Guardians, while Naylor, solicitor to the Overseers, claimed that all appointments were 'referred solely to political considerations'.[55] The Tory defence was that they were not obliged to use the former officers and that the whole episode involved far less jobbery than when the Liberals gained control of the Council in 1836. It was to be expected that a party deprived of local power for a decade should wish to reward the faithful with some office once it was again in the saddle, and thus the *Intelligencer* got the printing contract, Bertie Markland was appointed solicitor to the Board, and Thomas Eagland became official supplier of trusses to the Workhouse.[56]

As a reaction to this the Liberal Overseers retained Heaps at a slightly lower salary and offered the post of assistant overseer to Rhodes and Mason, the dismissed relieving officers. This produced a Tory outcry against extravagance and a striking handbill from the Radical printer, Alice Mann, headed 'Monstrous Extravagance by Overseers — Last Desperate Bid for Power'.[57] Whether Heaps had any real duties to perform was questioned, since Beckwith was now doing his job for £100 a year instead of £250, and yet Heaps was still to receive £200 as Clerk to the Overseers. In addition, the legality of any new appointment was challenged, since assistant overseers had originally been appointed as paid relieving officers, yet now all poor relief was in the hands of the Guardians and the only duties Overseers had was to collect the poor rate. Beckwith enquired perceptively whether an assistant overseer who was a relieving officer could really be considered to be a poor rate collector.[58] The Poor Law Commission found itself in the centre of a political battle, requested on the one hand by the Guardians not to sanction any appointment by the Overseers and by the Overseers not to sanction any rival appointments by the Guardians.

Clements, the Poor Law inspector, considered Heaps and the Overseers' appointments an embarrassment, but his superiors believed the embarrassment originated with the refusal of the Guardians to use the existing officers. They approved the appoint-

[55] G. M. Bingley to P.L.C., 13 January 1845, C. Naylor to P.L.C. 21(?) January 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226). Bingley must have been particularly incensed since he had moved house in 1840 especially to get the job. Two years later *Leeds Mercury*, 21 November 1846, was still complaining of Beckwith 'he was elected to his Clerkship for party purposes'.

[56] Guardians Minutes, No. 1, 63, 95, 99.

[57] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 January 1845; handbill in P.R.O. MH 12/15226.

[58] J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 15 February 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226).

ment of the assistant overseers to collect the poor rates, while pointing out that it was hoped 'that it may eventually be found profitable to provide for the collection of the poor rates at less cost to the township'.[59] The Guardians, who believed the Overseers to be 'improvident as to the number of officers and the amount of the salary fixed', were furious at the Poor Law Commission's confirmation of the appointments by the Overseers, which they deemed to be an insult to their authority.[60] Tense relationships between Overseers and new Guardians were a feature of the introduction of the new Poor Law in many places, but they seldom reached the pitch of Leeds where a major row broke out over the use of the offices occupied by the Overseers at the Workhouse. Perhaps sensitive to affronts to their dignity, the Guardians were determined to have the offices and resolved that they 'should forthwith be taken possession of by the Guardians and appropriated to their use'.[61] Clements was at his wits end trying to find a workable compromise between the conflicting parties and reported that the Guardians 'had been very violent and had proposed to go down to the Overseers' office and take it by force'.[62]

The issue of the offices was closely bound up with that of the new workhouse, which, it had been assumed, would be the first consequence of the introduction of the new system into Leeds. If the Guardians were to build a new workhouse, then there would be office space for all. The Tory Guardians refused to budge. They would build an industrial school but they would not build a new workhouse. The limit on the Poor Law Commission's powers of compulsion over Boards of Guardians was illustrated in Leeds by the way the officials tried to cajole and shame the Guardians into action. Clements reminded them that opinion generally in Leeds had pronounced the workhouse 'to be highly discreditable to the Township', yet in May 1845 the Guardians resolved that there was no need for a new workhouse.[63] Failing this, the least

[59] P.L.C. to C. Naylor, 11 February 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226).

[60] Guardians Minutes, No. 1, 81, 122; J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 6 February 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15226); 10 December 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15227).

[61] Guardians Minutes, No. 1, 136-7; see also 140-5, 244-6, 262-4, 311, 332.

[62] C. Clements to P.L.C., 1 May 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15227). The matter was finally settled by the Guardians' occupation of the offices and the transfer of the Overseers elsewhere. The Guardians agreed to pay one year's rent for the Overseers even though they were informed by the Poor Law Commission that they were not legally entitled to do this.

[63] C. Clements to J. Beckwith, 13 May 1845, Letters from the Poor Law Commissioners 1845 (Leeds City Archives); Guardians Minutes, No. 1, 312.

the Commission expected was that there would be *major* extensions and alterations to the workhouse, since it was 'without proper accommodation for the aged and infirm and the sick', but the Guardians would agree only to partial alterations which did not satisfy Clements who urged them

> 'to render the workhouse tolerably creditable where the aged and infirm can be accommodated with decent comfort, the sick properly attended to, the helpless idiot sufficiently protected and the unruly and shiftless able-bodied male pauper kept apart from the vicious and abandoned of the other sex.'[64]

The Guardians remained unmoved and the new workhouse was not built for another 15 years. The popular opposition to expenditure, which had made vestry approval for a new workhouse unlikely, had also infiltrated the new Board. Indeed, the issue of the new workhouse had been decided by the first election in December 1844:

> 'the opinion of the Ratepayers on the subject was clearly shown by the overwhelming majorities by which the first members of the Board were returned, the question of a new Workhouse or not being the principal point mooted at the first election.'[65]

Once the initial appointments had been made and the workhouse question settled, the Poor Law in Leeds became a matter of administration rather than politics. John Cawood, a flaxspinner-cum-ironfounder, was the Board's first chairman and on his death in January 1846 he was succeeded by his deputy, John Metcalfe, a brewer. Both of these men were keen on the industrial school and on dealing with most paupers outside the workhouse. The trousers given to the 75-year-old Jonathan Reynard and the old bedstead given to the consumptive Ann Mather illustrate that in Leeds outdoor relief was by no means abolished.[66] The Guardians had to face up to the problem of short-term industrial poverty for which institutional relief was neither appropriate nor possible. In their search for a mode of dealing with vagrant Irish in 1847 they were offered a priceless gem by a Liberal Magistrate, Darnton Lupton. He suggested

> 'that large rooms be provided by the Guardians at which rice pudding should be furnished to all comers to be consumed on the spot — the rice to be prepared according to a recipe which he would furnish if the plan were approved.'[67]

[64] W. G. Lumley to J. Beckwith, 31 May 1845, C. Clements to J. Beckwith, 18 July 1845, *ibid.*
[65] J. Beckwith to P.L.C., 22 May 1845 (P.R.O. MH 12/15227).
[66] Guardians Minutes. No. 1, 114, 135.
[67] *Ibid.*, No. 3, 409-10.

The Guardians rejected the idea, but lest the Lupton patent rice pudding recipe be lost to the world they agreed to try it out on the paupers.

As political partisanship gave way to routine administration, so the annual election for Guardians attracted less interest. The fluctuating number of contested elections indicated a temporary Liberal abdication, and official Liberal party lists were often not put forward. Table I covers the first seven elections and shows that in the Poor Law at least Leeds Toryism found some success, in sharp contrast to the position in the Town Council where there was an overwhelming Liberal majority.

Table I : Guardians Election Results 1844-1850

	Dec. 1844	April 1845	April 1846	April 1847	April 1848	April 1849	April 1850
Liberals	0	0	2	2	4	2	2
Chartists	3	3	1	0	0	0	0
Tories	15	15	15	16	14	14	16
No. of Wards contested	8	1	5	1	7	0	1

In the later 1840s, relations between the Guardians and the Overseers gradually improved and the two bodies even dined together in 1850, which was the first public sign of cordiality between them.[68] The Guardians did, however, face a challenge to their authority from the Magistrates who were often approached by paupers who had been refused relief. On several occasions Robert Barr, the Clerk to the Magistrates, enquired of the Poor Law Commissioners what powers the bench had to order relief or removal. In 1849 a dispute arose over two cases where the two bodies could not agree, and in the words of the *Leeds Times* 'the bench and the board are at issue'.[69] The Magistrates referred the cases to the Poor Law Board despite protests from the Guardians that their action in interfering with Poor Law matters was not only 'unauthorised by law but is calculated to weaken the authority of this Board'.[70] The Poor Law inspector, Alfred Austin, supported

[68] *Leeds Mercury*, 19 October 1850.
[69] *Leeds Times*, 24 February 1849.
[70] Guardians Minutes, No. 7, 7.

the Magistrates and tersely reminded the offending relieving officer that 'the legal claim to relief in all cases is destitution'.[71]

The Magistrates were predominantly Liberal and the Board of Guardians Tory, but the disputes between them did not really take on a political character. Three issues, however, in Poor Law administration did become politically controversial towards the end of the period; religious education, the running of the industrial school and the question of extravagance and high poor rates. One of the controversial new features introduced by the first Board of Guardians was to grant Hook sole access to the workhouse pulpit in place of the rota between Anglicans and Dissenters, which had previously existed. The former Vicar, Fawcett, had participated in this scheme but Hook would only operate in the position of sole chaplain which he became in 1845. His resignation from this post in 1849 threw the whole question back into the melting-pot, with Dissenters hoping to end the exclusive system of preaching. William Hudswell, Independent Minister at Salem Chapel, offered to the Board of Guardians the unpaid services of 32 Dissenting ministers who were prepared to work in harmony with Anglicans, though not with Catholics or Unitarians. The Guardians were interested in appointing a paid chaplain to the workhouse, though the idea was shelved in 1849 and Hook was succeeded by a rota of Anglican clergy.[72] The exclusive system was to be maintained.

Two years later the question of the paid chaplain was raised again, possibly because four of the Guardians were also Churchwardens. The Board decided to appoint a chaplain at £50 a year and Edward Jackson took the appointment.[73] Hudswell this time offered the services of 37 Dissenting ministers, but his offer was refused. Nevertheless, he persisted in his attacks on the decision, addressing letters to the press and attending further Board meetings.[74] The appointment of a paid chaplain was, in the words of the *Leeds Times*, 'a wanton attack on the principles of religion, equity, freedom and equality. In our view it is even more odious than a church rate'.[75] Since his salary was paid out of poor rates,

[71] A. Austin to A. Moore, 6 April 1849, in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1849. For his report see *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer*, 21 April 1849.

[72] *Leeds Mercury*, 3, 17 March 1849; Guardians Minutes, No. 7, 25, 52.

[73] *Leeds Mercury*. 25 January, 15 February 1851; J. Beckwith to Poor Law Board, 27 February 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

[74] Guardians Minutes, No. 9, 138-42; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 April 1851; *Leeds Mercury*, 22 March 1851.

[75] *Leeds Times*, 22 February 1851.

paid by Dissenters as well as Anglicans, there was some point in the comparison. As if to add insult to injury, the man who was later to become Canon Jackson treated the appointment as a virtual sinecure, and his slothful attitude was the subject of a fierce debate in both the press and board meetings.

On the question of chaplain to the workhouse, the Guardians could be criticised for religious and political bias and on the industrial school their competence was called into question. The building of the industrial school was the cornerstone in the Guardians' policy for it justified to the Poor Law inspectors their refusal to build a new workhouse. Within six months of the opening of the school in the autumn of 1848 there were reports arriving in London of the imminent break-up of the school because of the poor master, and the Guardians' insistence that children should work at shoemaking nine hours a day. Alfred Austin, the Poor Law inspector, thought the troubles exaggerated but told Beckwith, the Secretary of the Board, that changes in the school time-table were needed. The problem with the master was merely that he was young and 'unaccustomed to the free-spoken members of public bodies in this part of the world'.[76] Austin thought the problems were merely teething troubles, yet a few months later the inspector of schools reported that 'the constant interference of the Leeds Guardians in the management of the school, which they cannot be expected to understand, is very vexatious'.[77]

Even these minor matters of administration in 1849 provided opportunities to attack the Guardians and their school, and Kemplay defended them against the Liberal Unitarian former Councillor, Arthur Megson. In 1851 the matter became public when the master, the Rev. C. H. S. Nicholls, complained about moral discipline in the school, and H. B. Farnall, the newly-appointed inspector, conducted a public inquiry which revealed that there had been obvious irregularities in the running of the school.[78] Clearly there were personality problems between Nicholls and his subordinates, and Browne, the school inspector, had warned the Guardians when they appointed Nicholls that it was better to get 'an efficient schoolmaster of a somewhat lower grade in society

[76] A. Austin Report, 2 March 1849 (P.R.O. MH 12/15229); A. Austin to J. Beckwith, 6 March 1849, in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1849.

[77] T. B. Browne to Poor Law Board, 28 July 1849 (P.R.O. MH 12/15229).

[78] Guardians Minutes, No. 9, 19-20; Report of Austin, 22 February 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230); Courtenay to J. Beckwith, 6 March 1851, in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1851.

than to have an inferior schoolmaster with higher social claims'.[79] As Lord Courtenay at Somerset House put it, 'the want of harmony and cordial co-operation amongst the officers impairs the usefulness of the institution'.[80] However, the rules imposed by the Guardians were also found wanting and they were forced to eat their own words and rescind all their previous orders in July 1851.[81]

In his original attack, Megson cited the school as an illustration of extravagance and accusations such as this were the most persistent feature of the Liberal attack on the Tory Guardians. This was predictable and was very similar to the Tory attack on the Liberal Council in its early years. Increases in salaries for officers, together with Beckwith's multiplicity of part-time appointments, were the usual subjects of discussion in the press. Letters were also addressed to the Poor Law Commissioners who were informed of the 'useless waste of public money' in the running of the Poor Law in Leeds and that the Guardians' conduct 'has been marked by a disposition to extravagance'.[82]

Somerset House was aware of the need for economy and always asked for precise reasons for increases in salaries. On one occasion over the appointment of a pay clerk the Poor Law Board refused to sanction the appointment for nine months, and when Beckwith's salary was reviewed in 1852 they ordered that no increase should be made until after the 1853 elections. One of the planks in the Tory case was that they had refused to introduce the harsh rigours of the new Poor Law into Leeds, and Poor Law inspectors often cited examples of doubtful expenditure.[83] Indeed, in 1851, Farnall, commenting on petitions from Leeds about the mode of election, pointed out that in his view 'the Ratepayers of Leeds have sounder

[79] Report of T. B. Browne, 9 July 1848 (P.R.O. MH 12/15229). The Guardians themselves fell out with Nicholls soon afterwards over whether it was his duty to say prayers each day and he resigned in November 1851. Guardians Minutes, No. 8, 394-8; *Leeds Mercury*, 15 November 1851.

[80] Courtenay to J. Beckwith, 3 May 1851, in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1851.

[81] Guardians Minutes, No. 9, 385-6.

[82] Anonymous letters dated 12 January 1848 (P.R.O. MH 12/15228) and 31 January 1850 (MH 12/15229). Both were signed 'A Rate Payer' which was also the signature above a letter in similar vein in *Leeds Mercury*, 12 August 1848.

[83] Cf.: for example, Austin's Report, 22 April 1847, 'A large quantity of wine and sugar is given to the outdoor sick under the direction of the medical officers. Whether the quantity is necessary or not I have no means of judging' (P.R.O. MH 12/15228). Cf.: also Ebrington to J. Beckwith, 29 January 1850 in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1850 on the too generous distribution of beer and tobacco in the workhouse.

grounds for discontent than those which they allege exist in the election of their Guardians'. He quoted two sets of figures to support his case. First, that at £4. 5s. 9¼d. per pauper Leeds was spending a pound a head per annum more than the rest of the West Riding and, secondly, that 4.4% of Leeds' population were getting relief, whereas the figure was 2.7% in Bradford.[84]

The high poor rates which were the corollary of Farnall's figures had already produced an outcry in Leeds, and in March 1849 a public meeting on the subject had appointed a committee of enquiry headed by Richard Bissington, a Liberal hatter.[85] The report of the Rates Inquiry Committee was a wide-ranging document which looked at much more than the Poor Law, but many saw that its main conclusion was that the new régime from 1845 had resulted in much increased Poor Law expenditure. The movement of poor rates was from 1845 to 1848 in line with the price of wheat, and cholera was also a feature of those years, yet despite Kemplay's efforts in the *Intelligencer* to defend the Guardians, they were convicted of incompetence and extravagance in the eyes of the Liberals.[86]

The solution lay outside the field of Poor Law administration in the electoral process which determined the political composition of the Board of Guardians, and here the mode of election was open to severe criticism. Frequent charges of electoral corruption were made against Beckwith as Clerk to the Guardians, but students of nineteenth-century Leeds politics soon realise that accusations about corruption were the stock-in-trade of defeated politicians. Historians can certainly find other plausible reasons for the defeat of the Liberals in Poor Law elections, not least of which was the way the Tories were able to justify themselves as opponents of the new Poor Law and enemies to the building of a new workhouse. Typical of Tory propaganda was the following editorial from Kemplay's pen:

> 'Many attempts have been made to induce the guardians to erect a new workhouse but the Conservative guardians ... successfully resisted them ... saved us from the horrors of the New Poor Law ... we do not wish to give power to those who have been the advocates of the law in its worst form and who would soon in connexion with the higher

[84] Comments of H. B. Farnall, dated 16 June 1851, on D. Lupton to M. T. Baines, 10 June 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

[85] *Leeds Mercury*, 24, 31 March 1849. James Hole was also a member.

[86] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Times*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 23 March, 18 May 1850, *Report of the Rates Enquiry Committee* (1850), *passim*.

> Poor Law authorities force the erection of a large new workhouse upon the township.'[87]

The idea of a new workhouse had always been unpopular in Leeds because of the cost, and perhaps this explains Tory successes in Poor Law elections. Yet the case against Beckwith had some powerful advocates. Even before the 1848 election Matthew Johnson, an Overseer for nearly 30 years, wrote to the Poor Law Board about the mode of electing Guardians. The method of delivering and collecting voting papers meant in his view that those employed for the task

> 'will always in contested elections be chosen if possible for their adhesion to the party views of the clerk especially when his own happen to be the reflexion of the Board in possession, willing and perhaps anxious to retain office.'[88]

They were bound, he argued, to be judged by results and so in Leeds, he reported, voting papers had been tampered with.

Over two years later the case was renewed when Alderman Joseph Bateson forwarded a petition, following the meeting in Leeds to discuss the report of the committee on poor rates, and Richard Bissington, the supreme authority on Poor Law matters in Leeds, supported the memorial by claiming that electoral malpractices were 'exceedingly objectional and worse in Leeds than in any other town in the kingdom'.[89] Six months later Bissington reminded the Poor Law Commissioners of the complaints from Leeds which made the Board of Guardians self-elected, and wrote 'nothing short of personal voting on the municipal basis can be satisfactory'.[90]

The campaign seemed to be having little effect, and Liberal indifference to Poor Law elections (there were no contests in 1849 and only one in 1850) pushed the issue out of the public mind. The turning point came in 1851 when the question of the chaplaincy (discussed earlier) revived interest in the election and half the wards were contested. Accusations of corruption were revived with increased bitterness and the *Mercury* was involved in a running battle with Beckwith. Two respected Liberal Unitarians, T. W. Tottie and Darnton Lupton, previously silent on

[87] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 April 1843. Leeds had been very sensitive about the workhouse, and was the source of much anti-Poor Law propaganda. Cf.: M. E. Rose, "The Anti-Poor Law Movement in the North of England", *Northern History*, I (1966), 70-91.

[88] Johnson to P.L.B., 13 January 1848 (P.R.O. MH 12/15229).

[89] J. Bateson to P.L.B. received 23 May 1850; R. Bissington to P.L.B., 20 May 1850 (P.R.O. MH 12/15229).

[90] R. Bissington to M. T. Baines, 16 January 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

this issue, now put their decisive influence behind the campaign. Tottie reported in the *Mercury* that he had not received voting papers and came out strongly against a system of voting which the Guardians and their Clerk could influence.[91] Darnton Lupton agreed to chair a meeting of protest and forwarded the memorial from the meeting to the Poor Law Board. Over 2,000 people of all parties signed the memorial, which argued that the Clerk was enabled 'to promote objects of self interest or of party preference'.[92]

The Board were prepared, despite earlier objections, to lower the qualification for Guardians from £40 to £30 rated property, demands for which had been featured in both memorials of 1850 and 1851. However, the national mode of electing Guardians could not be varied and so the Board reminded Lupton that any reported cases of electoral malpractice would be minutely investigated to arrive at the truth and to preserve 'freedom of election'.[93] This was an open invitation to the Liberals to produce the evidence, and so the 1852 election was fought by them not to win control of the Board but in order to trap Beckwith in his own web of electoral intrigue.

Only two wards, North and Kirkgate, were contested by the Liberals in 1852, but they kept a close watch on the voting. When both wards were declared to have been won by the Tories, William Hornby and Thomas Brumfit from North, and William Kettlewell, William Sellers and R. M. Carter from Kirkgate, applied to the Guardians for permission to go through the voting papers. The voting in North ward was analysed by Morgan, the Liberal agent, but the Guardians then reversed their decision to open the papers for inspection and so Kirkgate was not examined.[94] In the opinion of the *Mercury* this was because of the revelations from North ward and the fear that similar revelation 'might follow Mr Morgan's diggings among the rubbish in Kirkgate'. However, the Guardians said it was because they had asked for an official Poor Law inquiry, which Farnall was to hold.[95]

[91] *Leeds Mercury*, 19 April 1851.

[92] *Ibid.*, 3, 24 May 1851; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10 May 1851; D. Lupton to M. T. Baines, 10 June 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

[93] Courtenay to D. Lupton, 4 November 1851 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

[94] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Times*, 17 April, 8, 15 May 1852; Guardians Minutes, No. 10, 222-3, 264, 272-3, 284-6; W. Hornby to Poor Law Board, 2 June 1852; Poor Law Board to W. Hornby, 5 June 1852 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230).

[95] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 May 1852; Guardians Minutes, No. 10, 299-304, 314; Courtenay to J. Beckwith, 5 June 1852, in Letters from the Poor Law Board 1852.

The Liberals were genuinely shocked by the 'reckless dishonesty' of the election and by the fact that it had been 'managed by the Clerk of the Guardians and his satellites'.[96] On the other hand, the main source of the complaint was, as the Guardians put it, that 'no very extensive change has at any of the annual elections taken place in the persons constituting the Board'.[97] This was after all a Tory island in a Liberal lake and appeals for an inquiry did not stem from disinterested motives: 'they do not like the Clerk. Of course, they don't: I believe his is almost the only Tory appointment in the borough'.[98]

Farnall's inquiry into the disputed elections revealed election corruption such as he had never come across before; 'I have seen a great many electioneering proceedings, but I never saw anything as gross as this'. Voting papers had been destroyed, altered, miscounted and filled in by the clerks. Witness after witness swore on oath (often confirmed by others) that papers had been returned with a vote one way and yet the actual papers were produced with the vote for the opposite candidates. Farnall had turned over a big stone and cast a light on the dark activities beneath it so that Leeds could now see how the Tories had managed to retain control, for, as Bingley put it, 'The Leeds Poor Law Guardians are *not* the representatives of the ratepayers, they are in reality the representatives of a large, we may say unexampled, mass of frauds, forgeries, tricks and knaveries'. Even Kemplay had to admit that the revelations 'appear to be almost incredible, so great has been the tampering with the voting papers'.[99]

Farnall's report to his superiors confirmed that there had been gross irregularities, and in particular censured Beckwith:

> 'The evidence annexed clearly points out how very negligent and careless he was as regarded both the issuing and the reception of the voting papers and how completely regardless he was of the state of the voting papers upon which he declared the poll in both elections ... the Clerk has been very far from using that caution which the trust reposed in him so much required.'[100]

The petitioners from Leeds, Hornby and Kettlewell, were informed

[96] *Leeds Times*, 17 April, 15 May 1852.
[97] Guardians Minutes, No. 10, 302.
[98] Anonymous letter to *Leeds Intelligencer*, 24 July 1852.
[99] *Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 3 July 1852.
[100] Farnall's Report, dated 6 August 1852. The first comment on the report was that the election was to be declared void 'and the clerk strongly condemned. He manifestly conducted the election in the most improper and slovenly manner.' (P.R.O. MH 12/15230.)

that only a full scrutiny could yield an actual result, and this was held by Farnall in December 1852, when the two defeated Liberal candidates were found to have won the election in North ward.[101] Eventually, in February 1853, 10 months after the original election, the two Tory Guardians, Richard Stead and Richard Singleton, withdrew and the Liberals, Joseph Linsley and Joseph Broadhead, replaced them. It had been a long battle and within two months the whole Board had to stand for election again. Yet it had cleared the air, illustrated the weaknesses in the mode of election and highlighted Beckwith's doubtful behaviour. The fruits were to be seen in the new era, which opened in 1853 with the first Liberal chairman of a completely Liberal Board of Guardians. A protracted election which took five weeks to complete and which saw two Conservative agents imprisoned for a month for electoral offences finally resulted in the election of all 18 Liberal candidates.[102] In 1853 the Board of Guardians itself was petitioning the Poor Law Board for changes in the mode of election which remained a distinctive Leeds issue, for, as Farnall reported, the excitement 'did not reach any other union in this District nor was any simultaneous movement made to effect an alteration in the law'.[103] Politics in Leeds had created Poor Law precedent.

During these two important decades of Leeds history when fundamental changes were taking place in the local political structure, the Poor Law was as much a part of the political battle as the Town Council or the Parliamentary election. Poor Law administration was based on a changing institutional structure and there were three systems in operation during the period. The traditional tripartite composition of the Workhouse Board, involving Overseers, Churchwardens and Trustees, was replaced in 1835/6 by the sole authority of the Overseers who survived until the new Poor Law was imposed on Leeds at the second attempt in December 1844. In political terms the capturing of the Churchwardens by Buttrey and the Liberals in the 1820s removed the Poor Law from Tory control, and the legal manœuvres of the Tory Overseers in 1835 were part of a general attempt of

[101] Poor Law Board to W. Kettlewell, 10 October, 17 December 1852, Poor Law Board to W. Hornby, 10, 29 October 1852 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230). Beckwith had originally given the results as Stead 248, Singleton 238, Linsley 209, Broadhead 209. Farnall declared the result as Broadhead 236, Linsley 235, Stead 177, Singleton 166. Guardians Minutes, No. 11, 104.

[102] *Leeds Mercury*, 16 April, 27 May 1853.

[103] H. B. Farnall Report on Leeds Memorial, 16 June 1853 (P.R.O. MH 12/15230); Guardians Minutes, No. 11, 309-18.

the traditional oligarchy to regain lost local power. The packing of the bench in 1836 with previously proscribed Liberals meant that exclusive control via the Overseers could be maintained at will. In the years immediately prior to the introduction of the new Poor Law a political equilibrium had been achieved by the parity of Overseers for each party. The elections for Guardians threw the Poor Law once more into the political melting-pot where it was to remain for the rest of the century. Tory control returned via the new system partly on grounds of policy, partly, as we have seen, by corruption and partly because of Liberal apathy. While Liberals could exert themselves in order to highlight electoral malpractice, the monopoly of other local institutions, particularly the Town Council, made township and parochial administration a less attractive battlefield than it had been a quarter of a century earlier when other avenues to power were closed. In general, Tories were feasting on Liberal leftovers, and despite regaining control in 1853 the Liberals contested only half the seats in 1855.

This survey of Poor Law politics in Leeds has illustrated the importance of the links between normally separate areas of historical study. The political historian ought to plumb the depths of parochial politics in order to give added definition to a more comprehensive picture of urban politics: the social historian should not think that the Poor Law can be understood solely in terms of social administration, for the political aspects, as here, often determined the course of social policy. It was this fusion of urban politics and social administration which made the story of the Poor Law so significant a factor in the social evolution of an early Victorian city.

THE POLITICS OF LEEDS WATER

by

DEREK FRASER, M.A., Ph.D.

THE PROVISION OF AN ADEQUATE WATER SUPPLY was a key problem facing growing industrial cities, for not only was it vital for consumption but it was also an essential part of any effective sewerage and drainage scheme. In the history of most cities a point was reached when the prevailing sources of water within urban boundaries, rivers, arterial wells, etc., became inadequate for the needs of the local community, and new sources of water and new methods of water supply had to be found.[1] In Leeds that stage had been reached by the early nineteenth century, by which time Sorocold's original waterworks with its three reservoirs in Albion Street, Lands Lane and near St John's Church were in need of immediate supplementation. Drawing water from the Aire, the waterworks company supplied only about 2,000 houses and it was said that a 14-h.p. steam engine could consume the entire daily production.[2]

Most Leeds citizens relied on bore-holes, wells, water carriers who charged 2s. od. per week (for consumers who often paid only 2s. 6d. per week to rent a cottage), and the River Aire itself. Yet the river was by about 1830 totally unfit as a source of drinking water, for, as Charles Fowler, an important figure in the story, explained:

> 'it is charged with the contents of about 200 water closets and similar places, a great number of common drains, the drainings from dunghills, the Infirmary (dead leeches, poultices for patients, etc.) slaughter houses, chemical soap, gas, dung, dyehouses and manufactories, spent blue and black die, pig manure, old urine wash, with all sorts of decomposed animal and vegetable substances from an extent of drainage from between Armley Mills to the Kings Mill amounting to about 30,000,000 gallons per annum of the mass of filth with which the river is loaded.'[3]

[1] Cf.: F. W. Robins, *The Story of Water Supply* (1949), 191-202.

[2] F. Williamson and W. B. Crump, "Sorocold's Waterworks at Leeds 1694", *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, XXXVII (1945), 166-82; J. Toft, "Public Health in Leeds" (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Manchester, 1966), chapter IX.

[3] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 21 August 1841.

It was a wonder that death rates were not higher with this open sewer and its tributaries, such as Sheepscar Beck, the so-called 'Ganges of Lady Lane', as the main source of water.

Often the path of social improvement has been strewn with boulders of ignorance and intransigence, but in Leeds it was widely acknowledged that the town's water supply was deficient. The directories, the Municipal Corporation Commissioners, and the press all echoed the view that by the early 1830s a new source of water was urgently required. Few in Leeds would have disagreed with the verdict later submitted to Parliament about Leeds water:

> 'it is bad in *quality* and deficient in *quantity*, the water being taken from the River Aire which is greatly defiled by the refuse from the mills and dyehouses and by the common sewers and drains of the town.'[4]

There was, therefore, general agreement in the early 1830s that Leeds needed a new water supply and it was not initially anticipated that, given this universal desire for improvement, there would be any undue delay in bringing the much needed water to Leeds. In fact it was not until the early 1840s that the water supply was augmented, and during the previous decade the water question went through three difficult phases before a new water-works company could begin the physical tasks of construction. The first phase, between the beginning of 1834 and the end of 1835, was marked by the failure of the initial attempts of the Improvement Commission which foundered on the professional disagreements of the engineers. The second phase was the year following the publication of a Town Council report in August 1836, and was characterised first by severe dissension and then by compromise which eventually produced the Leeds Water Works Act of 1837. In the third phase, which occurred in the first half of 1838, the whole scheme was thrown into jeopardy by the revival of old disputes which were finally shelved.

There had been no hints of future disagreements when in January 1834 the vestry approved the spending of £500 by the Improvement Commission in taking professional advice on the supply of water for Leeds.[5] It was felt by a few of the Commissioners that the money at their disposal was insufficient to attract well-qualified engineers and so it was leaked in the press

[4] *Statement of the Case in Support of the Bill*, handbill 1837, Lane Fox MSS. 101.4 (Leeds City Archives).

[5] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 80 (the Minute is dated 30 January 1833 but from the sequence it is clear that it should be 1834).

that whoever won the premium for the best report would also be appointed to install a new water scheme. Four civil engineers submitted reports and by November 1834 the Commissioners had chosen the scheme of a London engineer, Henry Abraham, and the vestry was thinking optimistically of an act in the 1835 session.[6] At this stage there was no shadow of political dissension on the water issue, and Robert Perring, editor of *The Intelligencer*, contrasted the petty partisanship of Farmery's appointment (discussed earlier, p. 24) with the unanimity over water supply, for it was generally agreed that, as Perring put it, Leeds ought not to be supplied by a company 'whose sole object would be a large percentage on the capital employed'.[7]

The cloudless sky was deceptive, since one of the unsuccessful competitors, Charles Fowler, a locally respected engineer and surveyor, had gained the powerful backing of a minority of the Commissioners, who warned that they would submit Fowler's plans along with the officially approved Abraham scheme if an approach were made to Parliament. The two engineers disagreed on technical matters which defied competent assessment by laymen. Briefly, while both agreed that water should be brought to Woodhouse Ridge from Eccup, they differed on the siting of the original reservoir and on the line to be employed between the water's source and its destination. Abraham favoured using the natural hollow, picturesquely called Alwoodley Bottoms, while Fowler wanted a reservoir built higher up the slope of the valley which would ensure a fall of 36 inches per mile as against Abraham's 15.[8] It was difficult for non-professionals to judge the relative merits of the schemes which depended, as Abraham sarcastically put it, upon St Swithin:

> 'Whether the rain which falls equally upon the just and the unjust will vary in quantity and quality, as the changes of the Engineer, is a question of importance.'[9]

Apart from the technical details there was the powerful factor of cost, since Fowler's estimate was some 25% below that of Abraham, though this raised doubts as Fowler's scheme inevitably involved more construction work and one of Abraham's supporters pointedly

[6] *Ibid.*, 92-4; *Leeds Times*, 1 November 1834; *Leeds Mercury*, 15 November 1834.
[7] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 November 1834.
[8] J. Chiesman, *A Brief Review of the Plans of the Several Engineers ...* (1834), 6-12.
[9] H. Abraham, *Leeds Water Works*, handbill dated 24 September 1835 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

remarked of Fowler 'the public may perhaps wonder by what means he can complete his piping and other work so reasonably'.[10]

All these issues came to a head at the bitter vestry meeting in March 1835 which was called to approve a scheme and appoint an engineer. It was clear that dissension within the Improvement Commission and between the engineers had robbed Leeds of a chance of an effective and united approach to Parliament. Fowler's scheme was strongly supported by James Musgrave and doubts about cost and the competence of Abraham were voiced before the vestry approved Abraham's scheme and appointed him, along with another London man, W. C. Mylne, as engineers, authorised to produce a detailed scheme and estimate for subsequent vestry approval.[11] At the end of August 1835, Mylne and Abraham submitted to the Improvement Commissioners a detailed estimate of £37,000 for the Eccup and Alwoodley source and a further estimate of £16,000 for taking water from the stream known as the White Beck, which runs from Roundhay to Killingbeck and enters the Aire at Halton. The Commissioners added anticipated legal and professional charges and produced an overall estimate of £72,000 along with a recommendation that the plan was 'justly entitled to public confidence and support'.[12] Before the public could bestow its approval the three issues of personality, party and principle had begun to spread their divisive tentacles which were to undermine the whole scheme.

Once it became known that the final Mylne and Abraham scheme was based upon the original plan submitted by Abraham and took no account of the technical objections which had been mooted, the supporters of Charles Fowler began a propaganda campaign in favour of Fowler's scheme. They retained Nicholas Brown, a Wakefield engineer, who submitted a strongly worded report critical of Abraham.[13] Only four of the 19 Commissioners backed Fowler but they were influential and included R. D. Chantrell, the most famous Leeds architect of his day, and Thomas Hebden, a prominent Leeds Liberal who, like James Musgrave, another Fowler man, was included in the new Aldermanic list of 1836. Relations between the two groups of Commissioners became acrimonious and the civil engineers conducted a mud-slinging

[10] J. Chiesman, *op. cit.*, 8.

[11] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 105-6; *Leeds Times*, 7 March 1834; *Leeds Mercury*, 28 March 1834.

[12] *Leeds Water Works*, pamphlet dated 23 September 1835 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

[13] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 September 1835.

campaign in the press. The issue of personality was making the water question a shuttlecock between rival groups.

As the dissension grew more bitter so party feeling began to creep into the issue, especially from the summer of 1835. This is only explicable by reference to other factors which were relevant to Leeds politics at that time. The whole parochial structure was in dispute, first by the struggle in connection with the Churchwardens and then by the legal decision on the Poor Law.[14] Hence opinion was already polarised on these issues, and when a vestry meeting rejected a move to pay the costs of the Churchwardens poll of 1835 and criticised Perring for demanding that poll he was stung into a counter-attack. He contrasted the concern over public funds shown by Edward Baines Junior, John Chiesman (the author of a pro-Abraham pamphlet) and J. A. Buttrey, the senior Churchwarden on the costs of the election, with their gross waste of public money over the waterworks question.[15] In short, the delays were laid at the door of Liberal incompetence which was very apposite in the Tory campaign, for in the later part of 1835 Leeds Liberals were appealing for public support in the first municipal election. The widespread public frustration at the delays in supplying Leeds with water was thus to be turned into a party weapon in municipal politics. Leeds ought not to be ruled, wrote the *Intelligencer*,

> 'by a noisy ignorant cabal like the worthies who have so illustriously proved their incapacity for public affairs in the instance of the Water Works.'[16]

Along with this increased partisanship came a growing concern over the principle of public ownership of social utilities. The failure of the Improvement Commissioners not only provided ammunition in the local political war but called into question the advisability of having water supplied by 'a fluctuating body of Town Commissioners to whose management no capitalist will entrust fifty pounds'.[17] Previously there had been general agreement that a joint stock company would be a bad thing, but the waste of public funds for no apparent purpose converted some to the profit motive as a guarantee of efficiency. Robert Perring now led the attack against public control.

[14] See above, pp. 5-10, 25-6.
[15] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4. 11 July 1835.
[16] *Ibid.*, 10 October 1835.
[17] *Ibid.*, 19 September 1835.

> 'It is time to give over this wretched farce. Let the Commissioners stick to their sweepings and their drains and leave *pure* water alone because this is a soilable article. In a word Leeds can only be properly supplied by a Joint Stock Company.'[18]

By the time the vestry met for what had originally been intended as a formal adoption of the completed Mylne and Abraham proposals, the ramifications of the water question had nullified the earlier optimism. It was no real surprise therefore that nearly two years after being commissioned to provide Leeds with water the Improvement Commissioners abdicated in October 1835, choked by their own disagreements. Though there was political capital to be made by Tories who could crow over Liberal failure, it had not been essentially a political failure at all, for as a nineteenth-century saying put it, 'what can the layman do when the doctors disagree?' The engineers disagreed and so confused the well-meaning amateurs who were simply seeking to provide a public benefit. While many, such as the Liberal Unitarian solicitor Tottie, still spoke up strongly for public control the vestry could do no more than suggest a compromise of half ratepayers and half capitalists 'so as thereby to unite and protect the two interests and at the same time secure an effective administration of the works'.[19]

This scheme was stillborn, as the men of 'respectability, influence and property' who were appointed to administer it dismissed it as unworkable at their first meeting. Instead they fell back on the joint stock company and a share list was opened, but only £10,000 of the required £75,000 was subscribed, and so this scheme too ran into the sand.[20] By the end of this first phase of the story, three abortive attempts had been made to supply water for Leeds. The Improvement Commissioners' long drawn out failure had been followed by two short-lived experiments, the half-and-half compromise and the joint stock company, neither of which had got off the ground. The divisive influence of personality, party and principle were to figure even more strongly in the second phase which opened in the summer of 1836.

George Goodman, the first Mayor of the reformed Corporation and a strong believer in public control, chaired a Council committee which reported on the water question in August 1836. After

[18] *Ibid.*, 26 September 1835.
[19] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 121; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 3, 10 October 1835.
[20] Leeds Water Works, circular dated 2 November 1835 (Harewood MSS., Leeds Water Works, Leeds City Archives); Proceedings of the Commissioners, 30 October 1835 (Leeds Civic Hall).

reviewing previous failures the report proposed that the powers should be vested in a committee of management composed of Magistrates or Council nominees on the one hand and representatives elected by the ratepayers on the other. The loan which would be required to buy the old works, build the new works and begin operations would be secured on the improvement rates which would also provide a guarantee fund. The contingent rate upon the real property of the town was justified since

> 'the object is not only to supply individuals with a sufficient quantity of good water for their domestic purposes but also to promote the health and safety of the Inhabitants at large by a better service of Water for removing impurities in the public streets and Drains of the Town and a more available supply in case of Fire.'[21]

Such public needs demanded public control and the security of the rates.

This report produced rapid results. The Council committee had two meetings with a deputation of Improvement Commissioners, and it was agreed that the new scheme should be managed by a committee of 19, comprising the Mayor, six Magistrates, six Council nominees and six Improvement Commissioners. By the end of September 1836 the vestry had approved the two essential principles of the scheme, public control and a contingent rate, and a speedy application to Parliament was anticipated.[22] The so-called United Committee had some initial doubts and even favoured a joint stock company for a while, but, as Baines Junior put it, 'a better feeling at length prevailed' and George Goodman revived their faith in the scheme approved by the vestry, and a subscription list, begun by Goodman with £500, produced £5,435 within a week.[23] The United Committee blazoned forth the virtues of its scheme when compared with a joint stock company. It was equitable, combined utility and economy, would save the town over £20,000 (by virtue of a 4% loan as against the 6% of the joint stock company), would be a boon to the poor and would probably have no real need of the proposed contingent rate.[24]

[21] *Proposed New Waterworks*, 29 August 1836 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

[22] Council Minutes, Vol. 4, 106; Proceedings of the Commissioners, 14 September 1836; *Leeds Mercury*, 10, 17, 24 September, 1 October 1836; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 141-2.

[23] *Leeds Mercury*, 22. 29 October 1836. Cf.: a handbill *Leeds Water Works*, 17 October 1836. purporting to be the resolutions of the United Committee in favour of a joint stock company. (Harewood MSS., Leeds Water Works.)

[24] *Projected Leeds Water Works*, 24 October 1836 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

The rate, which would fall on all whether they needed water or not, revived ideological fears of public control which had first been raised in the previous year. Twentieth-century English society has come to accept redistribution via taxation as an acceptable way of financing social policy, but to many in nineteenth-century Leeds this was anathema. Financing water supply out of the rates raised in some minds not a question of high interest versus low interest but the question

> 'shall the town obtain money by a tax upon a few and appropriate it for the benefit of the many — and that tax interminable, without those few who find the money having any direct control over its expenditure or any possible means of having it repaid.'[25]

The contingent rate confirmed the worst fears of those who had previously opposed public control, and the Leeds water question laid bare the ideological struggle for the early Victorian social conscience. An unknown hand, perhaps that of Thomas Beckett, inscribed the case of the propertied against nascent collectivism:

> 'Baines Jr. says the water works would be better managed under the Town Council than Joint Stock Company because the public would have combined stability with responsibility. Let these people *who say a property tax* won't be wanted come forward as subscribers to a Joint Stock Company at 4 or 5 p.c. and no more and shew their philanthropy. *I believe not one of 'em* will take a single share. All they want is to expend other people's money and get popularity by letting what *they may call poor* have the water for nothing and also accommodating themselves and tenants at other people's expense ... I have 10Thd. pounds worth of property and have been at considerable expense in getting water My neighbour has the same and his property will be considerably benefited by having water brought to it and mine can't possibly be benefited at all — [it] is just that I should be made to contribute a yearly sum towards furnishing his estate with water and increasing the value of his property 15 or 20% and taxes me 1¼.'[26]

Where was the justice and equity in men who had always objected to taxing the poor to serve the rich now demanding forced contributions of the wealthy to serve the poor?

These fears grounded on principle backed by self-interest swiftly resuscitated the idea of a joint stock company, and owners of

[25] Anonymous letter from 'A Real Voluntary Principle Man', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 29 October 1836.

[26] MS. note on *Projected Leeds Water Works*, *loc. cit.* The handbill was addressed to Thomas Beckett so perhaps he was the author. On the other hand Beckett had been a member of the Town Council committee which had proposed the rate. The rest of the handbills and circulars in this particular collection belonged to William Hargrave so he is another possible author.

real property were invited to two meetings, on 19 and 21 November 1836, to devise means of opposing the scheme of the United Committee, which was unjust 'to those numerous proprietors who have either no need of an artificial supply of water or have at a large private expense already obtained it for themselves'.[27] It was decided that the only just, efficient and sensible method was to have a joint stock company, which was actively canvassed. The rival scheme, it was argued, gave to the Town Council 'an irresponsible power', whereas a board of directors 'having none of the dangerous power of general taxation in their hands' would be controlled by the shareholders and would inevitably run the scheme more efficiently. Above all, the income of the water works would derive solely from water rents paid *'by those only who consume the water'*.[28]

On an ideological plane there was here a division between what might be termed embryonic collectivists, wishing to organise a public utility by redistributing wealth through taxation and to maintain firm public control, and on the other hand individualist capitalists wishing to provide Leeds with water by the normal commercial procedures adopted for other developments, like canals or railways, where the profit motive was the main guarantee of efficiency. This split was aggravated by the political identification of parties, most Liberals favouring public control and the United Committee and most Tories supporting the joint stock company.

This basic party division had already materialised in 1835, and was confirmed during the first year of Liberal Municipal rule. Inevitably public control was not seen in isolation from the reality of that control in contemporary Leeds. In 1836, public control via the Town Council and Improvement Commission inexorably took on the guise of Liberal control. Having captured the whole of the Parochial and Municipal sphere of influence the Liberals could be viewed as seeking even more and, as Perring explained to his readers, 'the Town Council and the Town Commissioners clutch the whole thing. They are in search of power — power, patronage — patronage'.[29] Tories, so recently excluded from their former fields of glory, were understandably suspicious of opening up a new avenue to power and influence for their Liberal

[27] Atkinson Dibb and Bolland and John Blackburn to William Hargreaves (Hargrave), 17, 19 November 1836; *Leeds Water Works*, November 1836 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

[28] *Leeds Water Works, Proposal to establish a Joint Stock Company*, 16 November 1836 (Harewood MSS., Leeds Water Works, Leeds City Archives).

[29] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 1 October 1836.

rivals. The sanitary reformer, Robert Baker, was particularly singled out, for he was in favour of utilising the new water supply for a major sewerage scheme. Throughout 1836 the *Intelligencer* had been attacking Baker mercilessly, especially since he was deemed responsible for the dismissal of the old Tory chief constable Read, and his whole approach reeked of petty interference in private affairs. It was all of a piece to give him and his friends the water works for their amusement.

> 'Vastly Liberal certainly to pawn the real property of the Township to make up losses which may be occasioned by Messrs. Baker and Co.'[30]

On the other side of the political fence the *Mercury* strongly supported public control, since the scheme would be run 'by the town for the town', and it was consistently echoed by the more radical *Leeds Times*. If Tories were ideologically opposed to public control, the *Times* objected on principle to a joint stock company. Water supply was by its very nature inappropriate for private enterprise:

> 'The Joint Stock Company is just a scheme for throwing the Town of Leeds bound hand and foot into the power of these men to do as to them seemeth good. The public have over them no control and their scheme is just a monopoly of one of the necessaries of life.'[31]

This political division was equally reflected in the composition of the rival bodies. Of the 19 men comprising the United Committee there were only two who were not Liberals, Thomas Beckett and Gilyard Scarth, whereas the promoters of the joint stock company were mainly Tories. The meetings which launched the scheme were chaired by Richard Bramley, a well-known woollen merchant, who had been an Alderman in the old Corporation and was four times elected a Tory Councillor for West Ward after municipal reform. Bramley subscribed £500 and he was joined on the share list by other prominent Tories, the doctors William Hey and Adam Hunter, the leading Tory flax-spinner Joseph Robert Atkinson, the bankers Blayds and Becketts, traditional gentry of the old woollen oligarchy like Henry Hall and William M. Maude, and, of course, the leading partisan, Robert Perring of the *Intelligencer*. The few Liberal supporters of the joint stock company included Thomas Hebden and Christopher Heaps who each subscribed £500 and who had been two of Fowler's strongest supporters in 1835.[32] It was no surprise therefore to find that in

[30] *Ibid.*, 12 November 1836.
[31] *Leeds Times*, 10 December 1836.
[32] *Leeds Joint Stock Water Works Company*, List of Shareholders (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

addition to the political and ideological conflict there was the original professional disagreement, for the United Committee had appointed Mylne and Abraham as engineers and were using the plans submitted by them in 1835, while the joint stock company appointed Fowler along with George Leather and were proposing to use the Fowler scheme which had caused the earlier technical dissension. Each side tried to undermine the other, and Baines announced the abandonment of the joint stock company while Perring reported the mass withdrawal of support from the United Committee.[33] Needless to say, both reports were false. There was sufficient political identification on the question for the 1837 Improvement Commission election to be contested on the water issue alone, the Tories standing as supporters of the joint stock company and the Liberals in favour of the United Committee. The Tory victory of 12 to seven was achieved largely through packing the vestry with members of the Operative Conservative Society.[34]

Leeds seemed set for a divisive and costly dual approach to Parliament, particularly since there seemed little difficulty in raising capital. The company soon topped £25,000, while the United Committee was offered a loan of up to £50,000 by the great flax-spinner John Marshall, though there was more than just altruism here and, as an opponent commented, 'Mr Marshall no doubt will like the security of all the property in Leeds for some of his great capital'.[35] Yet there had always been elements of cross-party identification which made compromise possible if a sound basis could be found, for after all they were united in their objective of providing water for Leeds. On a personal level Henry Hall, the most respected of the old Corporation, had consistently supported Robert Baker in the Council in his pleas for the widest application of the proposed water supply. Strange as it may seem, one of the Aldermen nominated by the Council to the United Committee, James Holdforth, a Roman Catholic silk-spinner, was also a £300 subscriber to the joint stock company, and another, James Musgrave, had been a strong pro-Fowler man in 1834-1835.

While the solution to the dispute seemed to lie in Leeds itself, in fact the one man who could make or break either scheme was

[33] *Leeds Mercury*, 19 November 1836; *Leeds Intelligencer*, 10 December 1836.
[34] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Times*, 7 January 1837.
[35] MS. note cited n. 26.

the Earl of Harewood whose water and land were required. He had displayed an old-fashioned paternalism by acknowledging a moral responsibility for the poor of Leeds and had announced his willingness to allow the town to take his water. However, when the United Committee journeyed to Harewood to meet him he refused to commit himself and warned that dissension in Leeds could lead to 'the waste of money in a contest in the Committee Rooms of the two Houses of Parliament which might be so much better employed in the conduct of the works'.[36] A week later he offered to mediate between the two parties, and when this produced no movement he called the two sides together in a Leeds hotel and informed them that he would not deal with two companies and, furthermore, he would not co-operate at all until they had settled their differences. There was now some prospect of success, and Perring, on the very day he advocated a Tory party list for the Poor Law election, urged co-operation between the two sides on the waterworks.[37]

The initial move was made by the joint stock company to the Town Council[38] and within a few weeks the two sides had merged their differences. The Council dropped the idea of a contingent rate and their London engineers; the joint stock company accepted an element of public control and agreed that the Council could eventually buy the works after 12 years instead of 20. The new company would be managed by a committee of 18, half nominated by the Town Council and half by the shareholders in the joint stock company. Men like Goodman and Baines Junior had not lost their faith in the former scheme of the United Committee, which they defended in the vestry, but had merely recognised that their scheme had aroused implacable hostility and that if both sides resorted to Parliament the costs would be enormous. The old party divisions were reflected in the nominations to the Leeds Waterworks Company, for the whole of the Council nomination was Liberal and all but one, Hebden, of the joint stock company nomination, was Tory.[39] Hebden's unsuccessful nomination as Mayor in 1837 against the official Liberal candidate was the work of his Tory waterworks colleagues.

It was not often that a party truce of this sort was achieved in Leeds politics, but on this occasion it was fair to explain to Parlia-

[36] *Leeds Mercury*, 26 November 1836.
[37] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 7 January 1837.
[38] Council Minutes, Vol. 4, 152.
[39] *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 January, 4, 11, 18 February 1837.

ment 'the present scheme is a result of a combined effort of all parties'.[40] Parliament certainly enquired into the various technical differences, but there was none of the acrimony or dissension which would have accompanied the dual application envisaged before Harewood's mediation. The enormous cost of a protracted dispute inside Parliament may be gauged from the fact that the passing of the Leeds Water Works Act, which was not opposed, cost all told no less than £9,000, which was the first charge upon the new company.[41] Nevertheless, there was great rejoicing in June 1837 when the Act was passed, for it was, in the words of John Atkinson,

> 'an act of compromise ... it was a compact, a covenant, under which two parties who had long been engaged in personal strife and animosity should cease their opposition and think and act together for the attainment of a great and public good.'[42]

When the board of 18 directors met for the first time in August 1837, just a year after the report of the Town Council which had opened this second phase, there was widespread optimism and it was generally believed that all dissension and delay was in the past. The general goodwill only flattered to deceive, for there was yet a third phase of disagreement which was to delay progress once more.

One of the first decisions by the new company was to appoint George Leather and Son as sole engineers, and in this seemingly innocuous decision lay the seeds of further disputation. The technical side of the application to Parliament had been supervised by Fowler and Leather together and it had been assumed that, since Fowler's scheme was to be the basis for the final plans, he would be at least assistant engineer. The directors, perhaps wishing to put all previous squabbles behind them and mindful that many Liberals were unhappy about the dropping of Abraham, decided that Fowler, like Abraham, should be paid off for his professional services and that the new venture should be served by a new engineer. It was agreed that Fowler would be paid a gratuity of £100 if he would submit a final account, but this he refused to do, on the grounds no doubt that once pensioned off he would have no hold upon the company.[43] Previous dissension had shown Fowler to be a prickly and combative fellow and he was unlikely

[40] *Statement of Case in Support of the Bill* (1837), Lane Fox MSS. 101. 4 (Leeds City Archives).
[41] *Leeds Mercury*, 2 September 1837.
[42] *Ibid.*, 31 March 1838.
[43] Leeds Water Works Company Minutes, Vol. I, 7-10.

to take his peremptory dismissal lightly, particularly as he always claimed to be the discoverer of the Eccup source.

By December 1837 a group of shareholders sympathetic to Fowler had formed the nucleus of a pressure group which was to bring the new company to the verge of disintegration. A deputation met the directors who refused to appoint an assistant engineer, and the offer that Fowler could prepare plans for conveyancing deeds was deemed an insulting gesture. Despite growing support for Fowler, the directors confirmed no less than six times between December 1837 and March 1838 that Leather and his son were to be sole engineers.[44] Fowler's friends had shown themselves no mean propagandists in earlier disputes and now in the first quarter of 1838 they took up the pen of personality and partisanship.

Grave doubts were cast upon George and John Leather's competence to deal with water works, and innuendoes were circulated about money lost by the North Midland Railway and the Goole Steam Company through the mistakes of the Leathers. The salary agreed for the engineers (five guineas a day for Leather Senior and three for his son) became the target for attacks upon 'extravagant expenditure', and Nicholas Brown's cap was once more thrown into the ring by the suggestion that *he* and Fowler ought to be joint engineers. Technical matters once more were raised by a series of suggestions contrary to Leather's proposals which would save no less than £30,000, though again laymen would find it difficult to judge, for instance, the relative merits of an 18-inch pipe suggested by Fowler and Brown and the 24-inch pipe preferred by Leather. One hundred and ninety-nine shareholders, somewhat inappropriately denounced by Baines as a cabal (whoever heard of a cabal with 199 people in it), addressed a resolution to the directors to reverse their decision, but they were adamant and even refused to call a meeting to discuss the matter.[45]

Eventually the directors bowed to the pressure and called a special general meeting but made it clear that this had become a matter of confidence, and if Fowler were appointed the whole board, along with Leather, would resign. On the eve of the meeting more handbills were circulated which laid stress on the loyalty to which Fowler's previous work entitled him and on the exorbitant costs of Leather, for there were bills for all the engineers amounting

[44] *Ibid.*, 15, 19, 21-23.

[45] See anonymous handbills, *Leeds New Water Works*, 31 January, 14 February 1838 (Thoresby Society Library, 22B 10).

to £2,400 'and not a spade yet put into the ground'. Shareholders were told that Leather wished to site the reservoir at Eccup on a peat bog and it would have 13 feet of stagnant water at the bottom.[46] Both the Liberal and the Tory press confirmed that professional disagreements between the engineers had brought the company to the point of dissolution.

Clearly some rejoinder to the Fowler camp was required which would arm the centripetal elements within the company, and this was magnificently supplied by J. W. Leather who had previously been regarded as a mere appendage of his father but who now emerged as a professional force in his own right. He first produced a 24-page pamphlet in which he replied in detail to the accusations which had been made. Going on the sound principle that what was unanswered would be deemed unanswerable, he undermined his opponents by showing that they had worked on fallacious data and had come up with erroneous conclusions. The so-called saving of £30,000 he deemed mythical and reminded shareholders '*Whatever* ESTIMATES *may be, work will cost ITS* VALUE'.[47]

This reply demolished much of the Fowler case but there still remained a strange address belatedly submitted to the town by Henry Abraham, who disclaimed any professional motives and who posed as the 'town's advocate ... to avert a great public calamity'. Perhaps Abraham, aware of the impending crisis, wished to remind everyone that if the Leather and Fowler dispute reached stalemate there was an engineer on the sidelines ready to step in. Whatever his motives, he now announced that the estimates of the water needs of Leeds were too small and that the Eccup source would be insufficient. It was easy for John Leather, showing himself as adept at sarcasm as Abraham had been in 1835, to disprove Abraham from his own mouth by juxtaposing what Abraham was saying now about the inadequacy of the source and his previous remarks when he had been the Improvement Commissioners' favourite. A sample of Leather's style will illustrate his mode of reply. Abraham had said that the Eccup source provided 230 gallons a minute which was equivalent to 18,165,050 cubic feet per annum. This was Leather's opening shot:

> '230 gallons per minute gives 19,397,946 cubic feet per annum when correctly calculated. I notice this merely incidentally. A gentleman claiming such superior accuracy and actually going to *half a gallon* in his *assumption of data* should be careful that his results do not show an error of upwards of *a million cubic feet*!'[48]

[46] See two anonymous handbills dated 22, 23 March 1838, *loc. cit.*
[47] J. W. Leather, *Statement of Facts* (1838), 20.
[48] J. W. Leather, *Reply to ... Henry R. Abraham of London* (1838), 5.

This polemical style continued through such abstruse but relevant subjects as the rate of evaporation and annual rainfall at Eccup and the importance of dew, throughout heavily laced with capitals, italics and exclamation marks.

There was little doubt that Leather's replies had vindicated the professional competence of the company's engineers and enormously strengthened the anti-Fowler party. Nevertheless, it was a tense meeting of shareholders which assembled in March 1838 to discuss Fowler's position and which heard Alderman James Williamson, a Liberal doctor, express the frustration of all at the further delays:

> 'He regretted deeply that the question of the Leeds Water Works too long, alas, of angry discussion, of — he was going to say — party feeling — of feelings of acrimony and personality, by which their proceedings had been so much embarrassed and the execution of their project so long delayed — should still excite hostility among parties who could only have one common object in view — that now when they had hoped all occasion for such discord had ceased there should be a spirit of division on most important points.'[49]

The company's directors defended their policy and repeated the view that Leather was the best man for the job. Fowler's case was put strongly by his former supporters, Christopher Heaps and Thomas Hebden, together with Robert Derham, a worsted spinner of the firm Hindes and Derham in Meadow Lane and Liberal Councillor for South Ward from 1836 to 1839. Derham had a critical motion in mind but he was eventually persuaded to withdraw it in the interests of the future of the whole scheme. Both Baines and Perring censured Fowler and his friends for throwing in 'the apple of discord' once more.[50]

There was a sequel to this special meeting when the last convulsions of the struggle were felt at the first annual general meeting at the end of May 1838. It was deemed that the re-election of the entire board would be a mark of confidence in view of the earlier disputes. This time Charles Fowler himself led the campaign for a 'sprinkling of new directors', which perhaps suggests that he had been personally leading the former campaign. Derham was again critical of the board and was correct in saying that the only progress the company had made in its first year was 'in the expenditure of a large sum of money and in a variety of discussions', while Heaps expressed the conviction that 'a fault existed somewhere'.

[49] *Leeds Mercury*, 31 March 1838.
[50] *Ibid.*, and *Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 March 1838.

By now the Fowler rump consisted of a minority of Liberal dissidents and the isolation of these elements was illustrated by the united appeals of Baines, Perring and J. R. Atkinson for an end to previous squabbles. Fowler died fighting and called for a poll after the re-election of the old directors, but his coup was over.[51] The waterworks issue was almost the only political question on which the Liberal and Tory camps agreed and their combined weight eventually crushed the Fowler rebellion. Leeds water had indeed cooled the fire of party politics.

Thereafter the story of Leeds water for more than a decade was concerned not with politics but with the administration of an economic institution. The Earl of Harewood asked £2,100 for his 35 acres at Eccup, was offered £1,657 and finally settled for £2,000, while Charles Fowler was eventually awarded £615 after arbitration.[52] There were further delays caused by unco-operative landowners and it was interesting to note that, although when T. W. Tottie wore his political leader's hat he had been a strong supporter of a publicly controlled water scheme, when he donned the solicitor's headpiece and acted for the users of Adel Beck he exhibited according to the company 'a determination to multiply every obstacle to the speedy and efficient carrying into effect of the act'.[53] Lane Fox, who had earlier indicated his willingness to co-operate, had second thoughts about the effects on husbandry of laying pipes through his land, and the dispute had to go to arbitration.[54] Two years after the Act had passed, the directors apologised at the second annual general meeting for the further delays, and the very wet winter of 1840-1841 hampered further progress. It was therefore not until 1843, a decade after the original vestry initiative, that all the work was finally completed with 41 instead of the expected 36 miles of pipes. A sliding scale of charges, ranging from 1d. a week for houses rated under £6 to 6d. a week for houses over £30, ensured that the company did fulfil its pledge of providing an 'indispensable blessing' to the poor.[55]

Gradually the water supply was extended, from 3,000 houses supplied in 1842 to 22,700 in 1851, and this extension posed for the company the problem of finding alternative sources of supply.

[51] *Ibid.*, 26 May, 2 June 1838, Leeds Water Works Company Minutes, I, 29-32.
[52] Leeds Water Works Company Minutes, I, 34.
[53] *Ibid.*, 41.
[54] *Ibid.*, 61-2.
[55] *Ibid.*, 14 March 1842.

The 250 million gallon reservoir at Eccup, yielding 1.2 million gallons per day, was an inelastic source and there was widespread jubilation at the discovery in 1846 of a new source at Bramhope. The Leeds and Thirsk Railway Company discovered water while constructing the Bramhope tunnel and this was estimated to yield a stupendous 4 million gallons per day. Baines enthusiastically prophesied that every poor family in Leeds would be able to have 40 gallons a day for less than 2d. per week, and George Goodman urged the two companies to get together for the benefit of the town.[56] The Leeds Water Works Act of 1847 raised the loan limit of the company to a quarter of a million pounds and the Leeds and Thirsk Railway Company left the Bramhope water for the Leeds concern rather than become a competing water company itself.

When more detailed studies were made at Bramhope it was decided that the technical problems were far too expensive to overcome, and so in 1850 that source was abandoned.[57] J. W. Leather reported in favour of the Washburn as against the Wharfe for further supplies, which were critically needed because of a drought in 1851. The difficult situation in 1851 brought widespread criticism of the company into the open, for the quality of the water deteriorated sharply and, as one observer commented, 'the water — to use a conventional term, is offensive to taste and smell and not sightly to look at; or rather we should say full of sights'.[58] The crisis of 1851 required the company to justify itself, and its future depended on securing the new Washburn source which in turn depended on the co-operation of Francis Fawkes of Farnley Hall, a veteran Whig leader in West Riding politics. Fawkes's attitude made the earlier intransigence of Lane Fox seem like active co-operation, and he proved a most unwilling partner in the enterprise. He referred to the company as the Leeds water pirates and described to a Whig colleague the

> 'six months perseverance of the Leeds people in a course of the most unnecessary undefensible and insulting mode of attempting a more nefarious appropriation of private property than ever Railway saturnalia conceived.'[59]

[56] *Leeds Mercury*, 2, 9, 16, 23, 30 January 1847.
[57] Leeds Water Works Company Minutes, 4 March 1850.
[58] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 5 July 1851; see also 14, 28 June 1851.
[59] F. H. Fawkes to Charles Wood, 16 June 1852, Hickleton MSS. (Garrowby) A4/150. In passing it may be noted that Fawkes's dealings with Leeds over the water persuaded him that he could not deal with the town politically either, and he therefore refused to participate in attempts to reunite landed and urban political elements in 1852.

Like some latter-day Welsh nationalist, Fawkes refused to acknowledge the city's entitlement to the waters of the countryside.

The failure to progress with the Washburn was the company's death knell and Fawkes unknowingly accelerated the transfer of the Leeds water supply fully into public control. The question of municipal control had already been raised, and as early as January 1848 Edwin Eddison, former Town Clerk and now Councillor for Mill Hill, had introduced in the Council a scheme for the Council itself to purchse the waterworks and the two gas companies. He renewed his suggestion two years later, and in November 1850 the Council agreed to look into the matter.[60] There were many, including Aldermen Carbutt and Richardson in the Council and Kemplay and Bingley in the press, who believed the competition of another company would solve the problem. It was widely felt that the Council itself ought not to be that competitor 'for it must necessarily crush its competitor having the public purse to support it and being free from the necessity of shewing a balance of profits'. Christopher Kemplay reluctantly acknowledged that the Council would have to step in in some capacity but he had no confidence in the Council, reviving the *Intelligencer's* traditional belief in private enterprise:

> 'the pecuniary success of waterworks will depend chiefly like any other enterprise on ability and vigilance in management and all experience goes to prove that these conditions are best secured by the direct interest of those who undertake them ... The burgesses may rest assured that whatever else be the result an increased amount of local taxation will accrue from our municipal water cure.'[61]

The reference to cost was an attempt to revive the old ghost of 'extravagance', and the *Leeds Times* recalled another former bugbear, the unwillingness to pay rates for water which was not needed, though this did not seem to be a problem this time.[62] There was a further very real problem of cost and, as John Darnton Luccock argued in the Council, it was hardly fair to pay shareholders out at the price originally agreed in the Act of 1837 when the company's fortunes were at a low ebb and share prices depressed.

All these criticisms were successfuly parried by Alderman John

[60] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 January 1848; *Leeds Mercury*, 5 January, 16 November 1850; Council Minutes, Vol. 7, 391.

[61] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 September 1851.

[62] Cf.: *Leeds Times*, 6 September 1851, 'a compulsory rate for the objects contemplated will, we are sure. be felt as an injustice in parts of the town already supplied with water from other sources.'

Hope Shaw, a Liberal solicitor, who played the major part in getting the water supply settled by the Council. He spoke in debate of the need of the citizens for water and this was his main case, requiring no further justification. The town was in need of water, could the Council stand aside and do nothing? In August 1851 he produced a long report citing testimony in favour of a properly constituted public body running public utilities, like water supply. In the next two months he produced two further reports with the aid of a committee, which recommended that the Council should purchase the waterworks at the original valuation. This was carried in October 1851, despite opposition from Carbutt and Luccock.[63]

When the question came up for confirmation in April 1852 Shaw spoke for two and a quarter hours, arguing that

> 'the Town Council was the proper body to manage the supply of water and that no principle of trade would be violated by their undertaking the management of such works.'[64]

His reasoned argument persuaded the Council and the purchase went ahead now supported by Luccock, who had changed sides, and by the Chartist, Robert Meek Carter, who saw it as a great boon. As the necessary legislation went through Parliament, George Goodman echoed the high hopes of Shaw:

> 'He had no doubt that the Corporation would carry on these works far more efficiently than a limited proprietary could do and from this important movement he anticipated great and lasting benefit to the community of Leeds.'[65]

The purchase of the waterworks was finally completed in November 1852 for the somewhat frightening sum of £227,417.[66] Thus by this devious route did George Goodman find the water supply fully in municipal control just when he became Liberal M.P. for Leeds. The town was aware that further large sums would be necessary to develop new sources, and while cries for economy occasionally blighted municipal affairs, on the water question social welfare had clearly conquered parsimony.

This paper has sought to indicate that there was much more to the vital question of water supply than simply civil engineering, though as far as Leeds was concerned that element has figured

[63] Report Book Leeds Improvement Act, Vol. 2, 1-24, 36-44; Report Book Municipal, Vol. 3, 23-39; Council Minutes, Vol. 8, 396-8.
[64] *Leeds Mercury*, 1 May 1852.
[65] *Ibid.*, 14 August 1852.
[66] *Ibid.*, 20 November 1852.

strongly in the story. Leeds water had raised important political and ideological issues as well as following a tortuous path of personal and professional dissension. In recounting the twists and turns on the road which led eventually to a municipal water supply one sees a growing urban community facing up to the problems of environmental control. Control inevitably meant power and power meant politics, hence disputes about who would control the water supply and where the power should lie were of central importance. In the widest sense it was the *political* problems which most frustrated the hopes of philanthropic men who were united in their wish to provide water for Leeds but who disagreed fundamentally about the best mode of so doing.

IMPROVEMENT IN EARLY VICTORIAN LEEDS

by

DEREK FRASER, M.A., Ph.D.

SANITARY REFORM IN GROWING INDUSTRIAL CITIES invariably came via locally inspired but now little known improvement acts rather than through the very much better known but often ineffective general legislation amply recorded in history books. Social historians have not yet fully realised the significance of important local acts nor fully charted their progress. Apart from the obvious considerations of lighting, cleansing, sewering and draining which require elucidation, there are political aspects of improvement which would normally be outside the scope of an urban historian recording the path of sanitary improvement in a particular city. Powers granted under local acts were exercised by bodies that took on various titles: Police Commissioners in Manchester, Street Commissioners in Birmingham or the more normal Improvement Commissioners in Leeds. The position of these bodies in the hierarchy of local government varied enormously. Birmingham's Street Commissioners, in the absence of a local corporation, became the vehicle for the local oligarchy during the later eighteenth century, as did the Improvement Commissioners in a fast-growing Middlesbrough in the mid-nineteenth century. In Leeds the Corporation was the cynosure of the woollen merchants who comprised the ruling élite and so the various Improvement Acts created a rival centre of gravity. Initially in the eighteenth century the Improvement Commission was merely an echo of the Corporation whose influence and interest had been instrumental in first embarking on a course of improvement. Gradually, however, the Improvement Commission became a political as well as a constitutional rival of the Corporation. Political dissidents who could not gain access to a closed Corporation could participate in vestry affairs and so a Liberal vestry evolved as a political reaction to a Tory Corporation.

Since this development dated from the 1820s it was natural that the political implications should be most marked under the 1824 Improvement Act which granted powers to demolish the

famous Moot Hall in Briggate and which superseded the earlier acts of 1775, 1790 and 1809. The political consequences for the local power structure were fully realised by the Municipal Corporations Commissioners who recorded

> 'The ill effects of the present exclusive system are rendered strikingly apparent from one circumstance in this borough. In cases where the election is popular as in the choice of the Commissioners under the Local Acts the persons selected are all of one political party, professing the opposite opinions to those entertained by the majority of the corporation: which is accounted for by the necessity of balancing the influence of the corporation, at the same time it is said to show the inclination of the majority of the town. This choice of Commissioners exclusively from one party is admitted to be undesirable but is justified as being resorted to in self defence.'[1]

There were a few Tories who first made their mark as Improvement Commissioners, such as the ironfounder-cum-flaxspinner John Cawood, who was later to become the first Chairman of the Board of Guardians and who, with his son Martin, became a scourge of the Liberals in the reformed Corporation. Such men tended to be themselves of lesser rank who could not immediately aspire to the closed Corporation, and they were vastly outnumbered by the Liberal Dissenters whose political careers were launched from the vestry. The names that were to dominate Liberal politics for a generation, Baines, Clapham, Rawson, Pease, Bower, Lupton *et al.*, first emerged in the lists of Improvement Commissioners elected each January by the vestry.[2] Though never a matter of contested elections, the usual pattern was for 15 out of the 18 vacancies to be filled by Liberals. In the first five years of Victoria's reign, which were the last five of the Improvement Commission, elections became a matter of fierce political contest and the whole question of the powers of improvement was thrown into the melting-pot.

It was in the logic of the political situation in Leeds in the 1830s that Tories would eventually attempt a take-over of the Improvement Commission. The moves to recapture the Churchwardens and the Poor Law had been frustrated, and the loss of municipal power made improvement an attractive alternative source of local influence. The water question accelerated this tendency and, as the previous paper described, the 1837 election,

[1] *Parliamentary Papers*, 1835 (116) XXIII, Report from the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations, Leeds Report, 6.

[2] Vestry Minutes 1813-1828, 5 January 1825, 5 January 1826 *et seq.* Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 23, 36, 53, 64, 79.

contested on the water issue, produced the first Conservative Improvement Commission since the passing of the 1824 Act. A four-year tenure of power by the Tories was made possible by the packing of the vestry with members of the pioneering Leeds Operative Conservative Society. Many saw this association as an anomalous body, almost a contradiction in terms:

> 'why a poor devil depending on his day's work and obliged to give a portion of that to the support of the Church and other Institutions should rank himself as a Conservative Operative is rather astonishing... the society consists of overseers who do the dirty work of their masters and who act as crimp sergeants to kidnap those whom machinery make dependent upon the owner for subsistence. If the market for labour was open we should have no such nondescript animals as poor men, professing to support a system which produces their "poverty" and causes their "destitution".'[3]

Eschewing the controversial path of factory reform which had produced in 1832 a Tory-Radical alliance, these working men supported an uncomplicated traditional Church and King Toryism. Led by William Paul, an operative at Hives and Atkinson's flax-spinning factory, they were mostly in the employ of Tory manufacturers and acted as the stormtroops of the Tory cause, crowding into vestry meetings, heckling Liberal gatherings, swelling the signatures on Tory petitions and performing the leg work of canvassing.

The strategy employed by the Tories was certainly successful and in 1838 and 1839 Joshua Bower found himself the lone Liberal on a Tory Commission, though, as Samuel Smiles explained, the Tories owed their election to 'the absence rather than the support of the ratepayers'.[4] Political controversy over improvement was heightened in 1839 when the Commissioners made themselves unpopular by levying the lamp rate on cottage property rated below £5, which had traditionally been exempt. Since a popular move led by Liberal Magistrates restored the former practice it was widely expected that the 1840 election would be very much a test of political strength.

It may seem somewhat bizarre that the humble offices of street-sweeping should be the object of political ambition, for as Baines Junior said 'surely the office of sweeping the streets and lighting the lamps or of superintending these operations has not

[3] *Northern Star*, 21 April 1838. For the story of the Society, see W. Paul, *A History of the Origin and Progress of Operative Conservative Societies* (1838).

[4] *Leeds Times*, 7 September 1839; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 177.

much to do with either politics or religion'.[5] It was the local power structure which politicised these minor bodies. With all local power in the hands of the Liberal Dissenting interest, the office of Improvement Commissioner acquired a political value far beyond its intrinsic status. Robert Perring roused his followers not by the attraction of the office itself but by what it represented in the overall Leeds political context:

> 'Some persons may think the Improvement Commission is not worth contending for ... the affair is part of a plan to get possession of all the local elective offices ... the object of which is the acquirement of local power ...'[6]

And again in 1841:

> 'The prize contended for is of no value in itself ... The question is, shall the Whigs and Whig-Radicals be permitted to monopolize everything.'[7]

The Improvement Commission thus became a focal point in the local power struggle to be fought over with as much verve as for a Parliamentary seat. In 1840 the position was further complicated by the incursion of the Chartists, imitating their Operative Conservative cousins, who made their first play for a slice of local power and influence. The Tories, facing a dual attack, mobilised not only their operative supporters but also the coach interest which was identified with the Tory Commission and 'the coach proprietors, hackney coachmen and the whole fraternity of hostlers, boots, horsekeepers and cads were brought into requistition'.[8]

There was, therefore, a great deal of interest in the 1840 Improvement Commissioners' election when a Chartist list, a Liberal list and a Tory list of Commissioners were proposed. There was something of a scuffle when, after George Greig's Liberal list had been carried, John Beckwith demanded a poll. There appeared to be a Liberal victory but the adjournment for the poll was, according to Sir William Follett's opinion, illegal and so the Tory Commissioners elected in 1839 actually remained in office throughout 1840.[9] Vestry meetings condemned the 'usurping

[5] *Leeds Mercury*, 11 January 1840.
[6] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4 January 1840.
[7] *Ibid.*, 9 January 1841.
[8] *Leeds Mercury*, 4 January 1840.
[9] *Leeds Times*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, 4, 11 January, 1, 8 February 1840; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 203-4; Proceedings of the Commissioners, 2, 29 January 1840. It is strange in view of the dispute over the election and the subsequent frequent criticism of the Tory Commissioners who remained in office that J. F. C. Harrison, "Chartism in Leeds", in A. Briggs (ed.) *Chartist Studies* (1959), 86, should claim 'in 1840 an alliance of Whigs, Radicals and Chartists combined to defeat the Tory block'.

Commissioners' who remained in office despite appeals for them to resign, both Liberal papers kept up a barrage of attacks on the leech-like way the Tories clung to office and the Commissioners dwindled in numbers as the ratepayers refused to elect replacements until they had all resigned.[10] Despite this obviously hostile public attitude the Commissioners were safe in office until the following year.

In the 1841 election a poll was immediately granted when demanded and the Liberal list was carried by about 2,220 votes to 1,790, even though in three wards (Mill Hill, East and North-East) the Tories polled more votes. The four-year Tory period was over, to be succeeded by a Liberal régime lasting only one year, for in 1842 a Chartist list was carried and even though it contained seven of the 1841 Commissioners (though not William Brook, the Chartist grocer) it represented a defeat for the Liberals and an important working-class accession of power.[11]

Joshua Hobson and his fellow Chartist Commissioners inherited a massive task, for their predecessors had recently begun to prepare for a new Improvement Act following the decision of the vestry in June 1841 that the general acts under discussion in Parliament were unsuitable for Leeds and that a local act was necessary. At that meeting Robert Baker had been one of the main speakers in favour of sanitary improvements in Leeds and this was only one of the occasions when he had tried to arouse Leeds on this issue.

In 1833 he had written the Cholera Report and in 1839 the Report of the Statistical Committee, which was presented to the Town Council. On reviewing the results of the latter report, Baker reminded the Town Council that there ought to come a time

> 'when party spirit would be mitigated and when the bickerings in that Council which he had seen would subside into inquiries after more sober duties and when both sides of the Council would take up this great question — a great public question he would call it — and never allow it to rest until all the improvements had been effected ... he would ask anyone whether the moral and social condition of the poor in this town was not a matter of vital importance ... He called upon the Council as they valued their characters as Christians and

[10] *Leeds Mercury*, 29 March, 18, 25 April, 9 May, 22 August, 12 September 1840; *Leeds Times*, 28 March, 18 April, 12 September, 10 October 1840; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 210-1, 213-5; Proceedings of the Commissioners, 26 March, 13 April 1840.

[11] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 9, 16 January 1841, 1, 8 January 1842; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 220-3, 243-4; Proceedings of the Commissioners, 7 January 1841, 6 January 1842.

> philanthropists to extend the hand of sympathy and benevolence to those whom Providence had not blessed with the same enjoyments as themselves.'[12]

Part of the Statistical Report found its way via Alderman Williamson's evidence into the Report of the Select Committee on the Health of Towns of 1840, and it is almost certain that Baker composed the memorial on public health from the Town Council to the Home Secretary, Lord Normanby, in 1841. In the spring of 1841 Baker explained in letters to the press that landlords regarded paving and drainage as luxuries which working men could not afford, and later in the year he showed that these 'luxuries' were in fact necessities by revealing a variation in the death rate in Leeds between one in 30 and one in 56, depending entirely on drainage.[13]

Given the evidence that Baker had accumulated, few could dispute the necessity of a new and extended Improvement Act, and the first meeting of the new Commissioners resolved that the drafting of the new bill should be continued and a version of it placed before the vestry for further direction. When the bill was ready the *Mercury* was pleased to report that there appeared no real dispute over the provision, and Baker was convinced that at last the Statistical Report was bearing fruit.[14]

However, there was basic disagreement in Leeds over where the powers under the new act should be vested. There were three possibilities. First, Baines Senior, who had done most of the drafting, and the committee responsible for launching the bill favoured the solution at one time offered for the Waterworks in 1837. This was a combination of Magistrates, Councillors and Commissioners which the Council and the Magistrates in 1841 had in principle accepted. The Council later changed its mind and, in a series of motions, reports and petitions, pushed strongly for the second possibility, that all powers should be vested in the Town Council itself.[15] The third possibility, that favoured by the Chartists, was that the powers should be vested only in Commissioners elected by the vestry.

[12] *Leeds Mercury*, 2 November 1839.

[13] *Ibid.*, 11 July 1840, 18 December 1841; Council Minutes, Vol. 5, 245; *Leeds Times*, 13 March 1841.

[14] Proceedings of the Commissioners, 8 January 1842; *Leeds Mercury*, 5, 12 February 1842.

[15] *Leeds Mercury*, 26 March 1842; Council Minutes, Vol. 5, 432, Vol. 6, 32-4; Report Book Municipal, I, 21-7, 48-51; Magistrates' Minutes, 16 October 1841.

In a series of vestry meetings in February, March and April 1842, Joshua Hobson and the Chartists used their control over the crowds at the vestry to mould the bill into the sort of measure that would make working-class participation in local affairs really meaningful. Acting rather like a Parliamentary Committee, the Chartists reviewed the bill clause by clause and made some far-reaching amendments. The powers of the act were to be vested in 33 Commissioners elected by the vestry, and the Magistrates and Councillors were to have no part whatsoever. There was to be no financial qualification for a Commissioner, merely an 18-month residential one. Separate authority was to be needed from the vestry for any improvement costing more than £500, and all vestry meetings were to be held at seven o'clock in the evening rather than the usual 12 noon. Progressive taxation was introduced into the rating clauses and a scale was introduced whereby houses under £10 were rated at one-third the rate of houses above £50.[16]

Baines Senior read into these changes the view that the Chartists were attempting to destroy the bill; in fact they were merely trying to make the Charter live. The purpose of the People's Charter was to facilitate a working-class assumption of power in Parliament, and here the Chartists were doing the same for local government. All their amendments were part of an attempt to democratise local government. Popular control was possible through the election via the vestry; with no financial qualification, working men would be able to become Commissioners; financial control was retained through the £500 limit and working-class participation made possible by the evening meetings; finally, progressive taxation introduced the idea that those most able to bear the burdens should pay the lion's share of the cost. Here was municipal Chartism in its essence. Joshua Hobson, William Brook and Thomas Frazer were bringing to life the Chartist vision.

While so doing they were, however, creating powerful enemies for themselves. The Town Council hardened on its line that the powers had to be vested in the Council, which, according to the Chartists, was not the popular view, which was 'against the transference of the powers of the executive of the new bill from the Commissioners to the Town Council'.[17] The Chartists felt strongly on this issue, not least because polls were very rare in

[16] Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 245-60.

[17] *Ibid.*, 260; Report Book Municipal, I, 87. Ironically on this issue Hobson was supported by Robert Perring, who saw vestry control as the only way of avoiding perpetual Liberal dominance via the Council: see *Leeds Conservative Journal*, 4, 18, 25 June 1842.

vestry elections but the norm in municipal elections. It is probably not without significance that in 1842 the two Chartist successes, in the Improvement Commissioners' and Churchwardens' elections, were gained on a show of hands, and in the two where a poll was held, the elections for Surveyors of Highways and for the Town Council, the Chartists were defeated. Clearly working-class control would be much more possible via annual elections in the vestry than by triennial elections for Councillors and indirect election of Aldermen.

As the changes became more radical so the influential people who were originally prepared to pay the expenses of a private act, reckoned at £3,000 to £4,000, gradually withdrew. In March H. C. Marshall informed the Commissioners that the Council could no longer co-operate in the passage of the bill through Parliament and within a month the Magistrates did the same, followed by the legal agents of the Commissioners themselves.[18] Hobson finally realised that no House of Commons was going to pass a bill with such popular control in it and so he did not oppose D. W. Nell, a Liberal Magistrate, when he proposed that the Commissioners themselves would also have to drop the bill. It was, as Robert Barr pointed out, a bizarre situation, for 'the Council had gone out, the Magistrates had gone out, and now the Commissioners said they would not go on with it'.[19]

Hobson defended the abandonment of the bill on the grounds that there was no chance of it passing Parliament in a way 'conformable to the wishes of the majority of the persons who will be affected by the measure'. He recommended that they support the general acts under consideration in Parliament (which had been deemed unsuitable a year earlier) and successfully moved that no local act should be passed which did not contain all the alterations made in the vestry. This, he believed, would prevent any section using 'their party political and legislatorial influence to procure the passing of the Bill in a shape to suit their own party and class interests but in a shape objectionable to the majority of the inhabitants'.[20]

Despite Hobson's proscription of any bill but the one he had fashioned in the Chartist image, the Leeds Improvement Act

[18] Proceedings of the Commissioners, 16 March, 20 April 1842; Vestry Minutes 1828-1844, 261; Magistrates' Minutes, 9, 18 April 1842.

[19] *Leeds Times*, 30 April 1842; Proceedings of the Commissioners, 25 April 1842.

[20] Vestry Minutes, *loc. cit.*; *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 April 1842.

received the Royal Assent in July 1842 and bore little resemblance to the bill amended in the vestry during the spring. Once the Commissioners had dropped the bill it was taken up by the Council and the Magistrates on condition that £4,000 be raised by subscription to meet expenses and that the question of the executive powers under the act be left for Parliament to decide.[21] The subscription was raised, the offending clauses re-amended, Baines and Baker appeared before a Parliamentary committee and the bill passed with full powers vested in the Town Council.

The Leeds Improvement Act of 1842[22] had 392 clauses, 10 schedules and covered a multiplicity of local problems, including paving, sewering, lighting, cleansing and widening of streets. It also contained regulations for all sorts of factories and workshops and for smoke control. It replaced existing regulations for hackney carriages. In conferring vast new powers on the Town Council, the Act enabled the Council to borrow up to £100,000 on mortgage. Gone indeed was the financial control of the £500 limit. The Act began that process of amalgamating powers in the Town Council which was to go on throughout the century.

Robert Baker took it upon himself to explain the Improvement and the Burial Acts to the Council and he thought that 14 Council committees would be necessary, though in the event they managed with nine.[23] Council members were immersed in their new duties in the second half of 1842 and they were determined that the new act would be a boon to the working classes. Working-class districts were to receive some of the benefits previously reserved for the more privileged, and indicative of the new spirit was a simple resolution referring to East Ward

> 'that the paving stones shall be of good stones such as have been used and are now standing or set in the best streets in Leeds.'[24]

The work of improvement had a noticeable effect in reducing party tension on the Council and there was much more harmony when the work began. As Martin Cawood said:

> 'We are not sanguine enough to expect that all party feuds will from this time be banished from the Council Chamber but the public may

[21] Council Minutes, Vol. 6, 73. Report Book Municipal, I, 89-92.

[22] 5 and 6 Victoria Cap 104, full title 'An Act for better lighting, cleansing, sewering and improving the Borough of Leeds in the County of York'.

[23] *Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times*, 30 July 1842; Council Minutes, Vol. 6, 90, 103-10. The nine committees with their membership were Finance (9), Rates (9), Lamp (9), Market (9), Scavenging and Nuisance (9), Hackney Coach (5), Burial Act (17), General (45), Street (13).

[24] Council Minutes, Vol. 6, 149.

> confidently hope that in proportion as the important duties of the members are increased by their new functions in the same proportion the war of words will be diminished.'[25]

There was certainly an element of philanthropic community spirit which crossed party lines and enabled the two sides to work together, but, in addition, the debates on the Improvement Act had shown Liberals and Tories in the Council that they had much more to fear from the Chartists than from each other. When Chartist rioters entered the town in August 1842, Liberals and Tories closed ranks to protect property, and it must be remembered that the Chartist Improvement Bill was in its own way as much a threat to the social order as the Plug Plot. They were both an attack upon the political and social power of a property owning middle class.

Just as Robert Baker was presiding over this improvement euphoria he became himself the victim of the first of those periodic bouts of public nervousness over expense which were a characteristic consequence of major extensions of municipal government. No man had done more to awaken the consciousness of Leeds to the idea of sanitary reform, yet in December 1842 260 of his constituents in South Ward angrily called on him to resign, dismissing his expressed motive of 'the public health, welfare and happiness' as a mere pretence. Baker was censured because of the expense inevitably bound up with the new Improvement Act and the costs and not the benefits became the issue:

> 'Do they not all suffer from the injuries that your public extravagance may inflict ... Are they not called upon to pay their proportion of the cost of your expensive schemes and speculations?'[26]

In the following spring noisy ward meetings took up the cry of 'economy' in every township ward except the two wealthiest, Mill Hill and West. The new popular saviour was not Baker but John Yewdall, a Briggate tea merchant who had first emerged as a parochial 'economist' in the 1820s. Now two decades later he set the tone of all the meetings by complaining of the enormous powers vested in the Council, of the enormous expense ('hundreds were nothing in the Council, they generally went by thousands') and of the borrowing powers:

> 'It was but putting off the evil day and if pursued would involve them and their children in such an amount of debt as would completely set them fast and prove absolutely overwhelming.'[27]

[25] *Leeds Mercury*, 6 August 1842.
[26] *Leeds Times*, 31 December 1842.
[27] *Ibid.*, and *Leeds Mercury*, 11, 18, 25 March 1843.

The South Ward meeting was particularly critical of Baker and when in September a group of his supporters tried to organise a presentation to him they were overruled by the critics of his schemes. In the ratepayers' backlash of the following November, Baker was sent packing and Yewdall was elected for Kirkgate Ward, the uncrowned King of the economists.[28]

The Council did go ahead with the Skinner Lane sewerage project, the first major scheme under the 1842 Improvement Act, but it was with far less unanimity than had been anticipated when the Act was first passed. Yewdall put the case for the ratepayers who would finance improvement, and, as he said, 'the people were more solicitous about draining rates from their pockets than draining the streets'.[29] Notions such as this were to recur in Leeds in 1849 and in 1868-1870, again the consequence of major extensions on municipal power and expenditure. These fears vitally affected both the course and timing of improvement and were part of the wider relationship between governors and governed. Improvement was always a central component of the overall political structure of Victorian Leeds. Once more minor township administration had assumed the guise of major politics.

[28] Baker, who moved to Whitkirk about this time, did not stand for re-election but it was widely interpreted that the opposition from ratepayers caused his withdrawal from Municipal affairs. Cf.: speech at an Oddfellows' dinner five years later, 'Baker was turned out of the Council by the burgesses of South Ward because he wished to drain their locality at a cost of £30,000': *Leeds Times*, 1 May 1847.

[29] *Leeds Mercury*, 2 March 1844.

THWAITE MILL, HUNSLET, AND THOMAS CHEEK HEWES

A Note by

STUART B. SMITH, M.Sc.

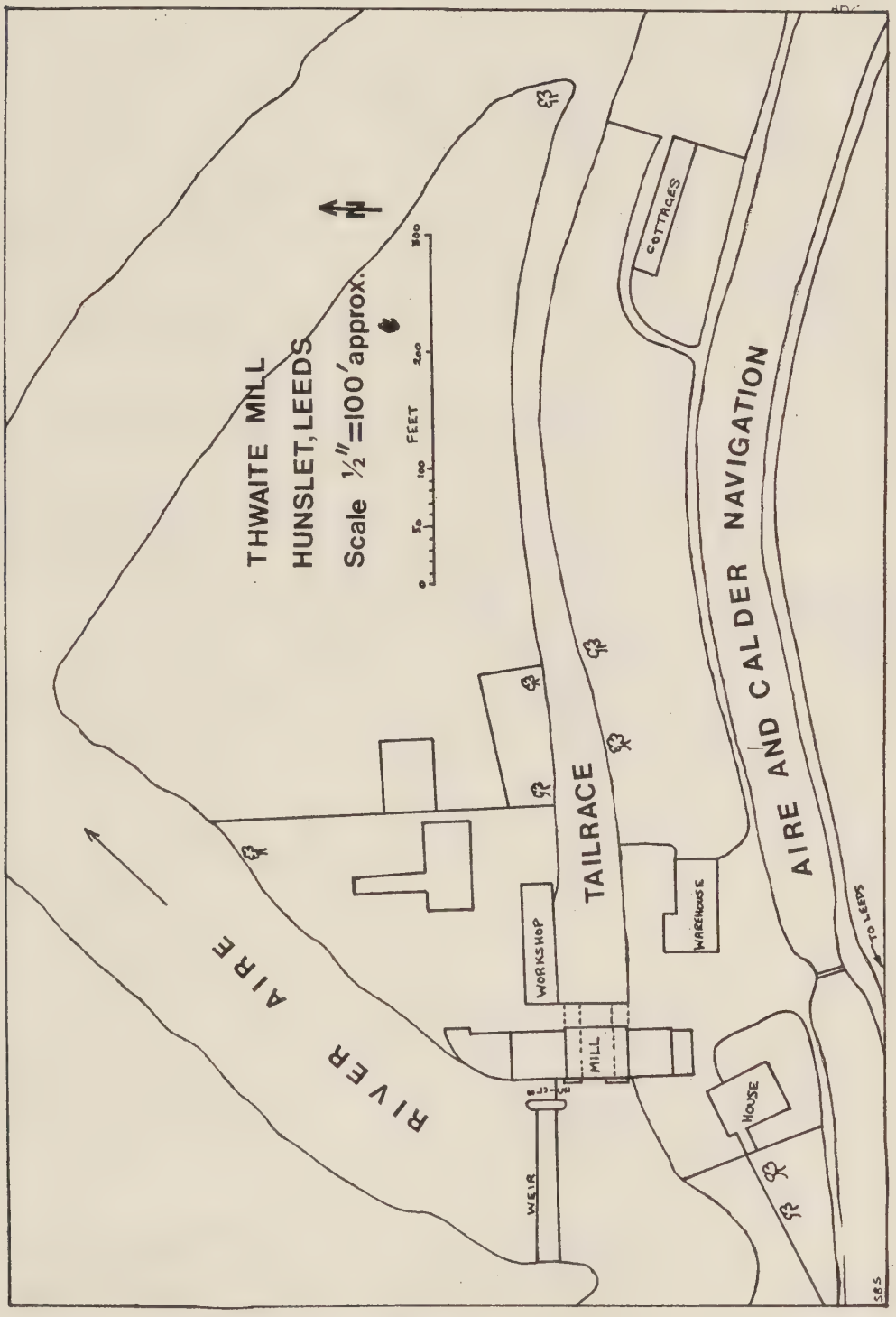
THE UNDERTAKERS OF THE Aire and Calder Navigation owned several mills which were situated on the Navigation. One of these mills was at Thwaite and the Navigation now runs to the south of the buildings. In 1819 the mill had four races which were being used to power chipping, oil and oat machinery. It was decided in 1820 that the mills owned by the concern at Thwaite, Fleet, Castleford and Knottingley were in need of repair,[1] and John Rennie (1761-1821), its consulting engineer, was instructed to inspect them. On the 21st July 1821, Rennie reported[2] on the state of the cuts and the locks around the mills, and the account book for that year[3] indicates that the mill stood unoccupied. The minutes for the 25th July order that the cut from Leeds Nether Mill to the tail of Thwaite cut be made to Rennie's design and at Leather & Timperley's estimate of £17,406. This figure did not include the mill buildings. In 1822 the mill was let to Joy's of Leeds for £525 per annum, but this must have been just for one year, as in 1823 the old mills at Thwaite were taken down, the wheels and machinery removed and a new mill for wood chipping and oil begun. Two new races for wide wheels were constructed as Rennie recommended. It was not originally intended to rebuild the mills, only to extend them, but their condition was found to be too poor.[4] By the summer of 1825 the rebuilding was virtually complete and, 'it is but Justice to the Millwrights, Messrs Hewes & Wren, to say, that the whole of the work so far appears to be very complete and executed in the most permanent and workmanlike manner'.[5]

In 1826 the mills were relet to Messrs Joy & Co. at £1,100 per annum, more than twice the sum previously paid. The total cost

[1] B.T.H.R. (York) Minutes, ACN/1/9.
[2] B.T.H.R. (York) Engineer's reports, ACN/1/28.
[3] B.T.H.R. (York) Accounts for 1821-6, RAC/Y/2.
[4] B.T.H.R. (York) Engineer's reports 1823-4, ACN/1/28.
[5] B.T.H.R. (York) Engineer's reports 1824-5.

of the mill to the Navigation was £15,876 spread over five years (1823-8). A valuation of the township in 1839[6] states that the mill, warehouse, stables and workshops have an annual value of £348, but it is not clear how this figure relates to reality.

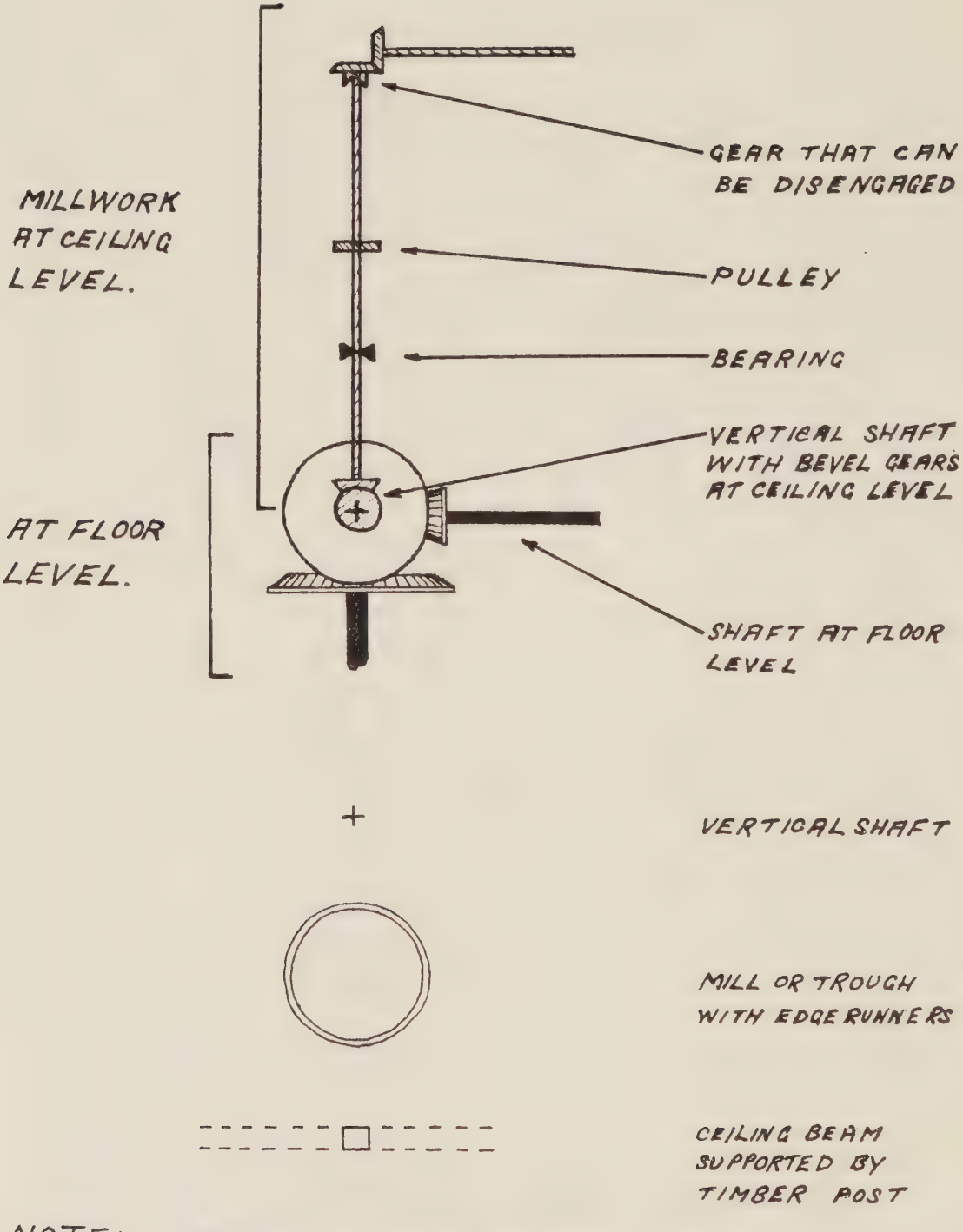
The millwrights Hewes & Wren who rebuilt the mill in 1823



[6] B.T.H.R. (York) Valuation, ACN/4/4.

Thwaite Mill

Key to plan of millwork



NOTE: SHAFTING REVOLVES AT ABOUT 25 R.P.M.; TWICE THE SPEED OF THE WATER-WHEELS.

were probably the leading millwrights in the country. Their foundry and workshops were in Manchester but their activities covered the whole of the British Isles. Although mainly concerned with cotton mills, they were not averse to work with wool, flax, dye or grinding mills as at Thwaite. Thomas Cheek Hewes (1768-1832),[7] the founder of the firm, was an early pioneer in the application of wrought and cast iron, and was associated with William Strutt of Derby (1756-1830), Philips & Lee of Salford, and with Benjamin Gott of Leeds (1762-1840). For a short though crucial period (1816/17), he employed William Fairbairn (later Sir William), the famous engineer of the mid-nineteenth century, who later overshadowed Hewes owing to his voluminous publications. Hewes' firm not only built mills, mainly of the fireproof type, but also erected the motive power, either water or steam, and filled the mill with machinery. In association with Strutt, Hewes developed the 'suspension' waterwheel, a light type of wheel, constructed along the lines of a bicycle wheel, with wrought-iron arms and cast-iron axle and shrouds. Using this type of wheel in association with rim drive, it was possible to build much larger wheels than before and hence produce wheels of the order of 200 h.p.

Hewes was essentially a cotton machine manufacturer, but there is some evidence[8] to suggest that he was making woollen machinery for Gott. It is known for certain that Hewes was making machinery for processes associated with the wool industry, as at Thwaite and at Churching Mills, Eastington, near Stroud, where he constructed a dyeworks with fulling stocks.[9] It is to be hoped that further evidence comes to light on the work of textile machine makers in Yorkshire and the work of Lancashire millwrights in this sphere.

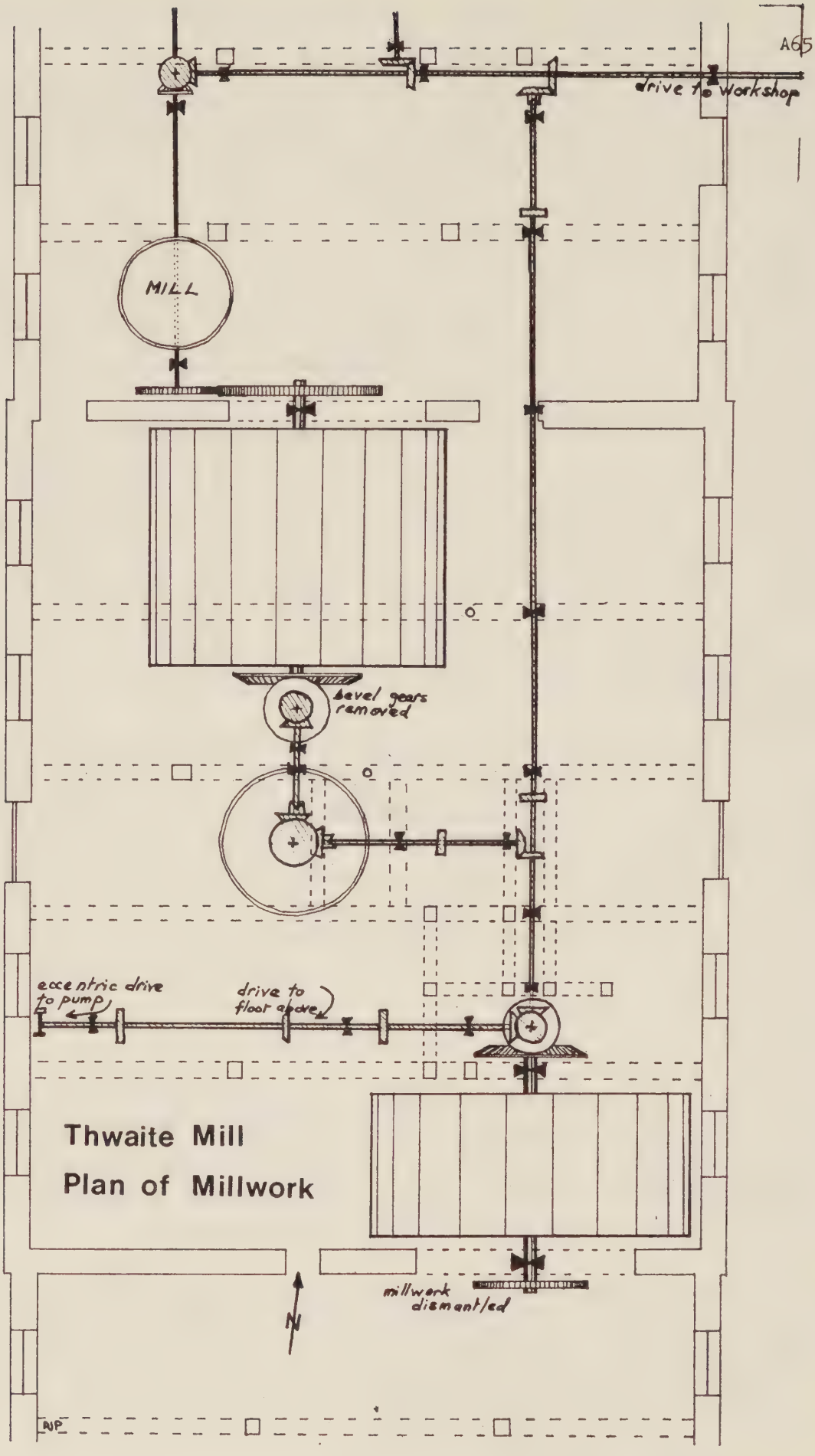
The Mill Buildings

The mill has remained substantially unaltered apart from the addition of several buildings, and a steam-engine (now removed) to supplement the water power, and repairs to the waterwheels carried out by Mr W. H. C. Horn, engineer, father of the present partners. Putty is now manufactured on the premises.

[7] S. B. Smith, *Thomas Cheek Hewes (1768-1832) — "An ingenious Engineer and Mechanic of Manchester"*. Manchester M.Sc. thesis, 1969.

[8] W. B. Crump ed., "The Leeds Woollen Industry 1780-1820". *Thoresby Society Publications*, XXXII (1931), 245.

[9] J. Tann, *Gloucestershire Woollen Mills* (Newton Abbot) (1967), 143.


drive to workshop
MILL
bevel gears removed
eccentric drive to pump
drive to floor above
Thwaite Mill
Plan of Millwork
millwork dismantled
N
NP

The main mill building of 1824 stands on the river bank spanning the mill-race. It is 138 feet by 46 feet, being nearly symmetrical about its shorter axis. Divided into three sections, all of the same date, the central section houses the two low breast wheels, which lie across the mill. The mill, of two storeys and an attic, is of brick with stone trim to windows and doors. The wooden floors are carried on timber beams with timber columns to support them. Many of these timber columns are replacements or additions.

Judging by the total cost of the mill and the reference to Hewes, it appears that he was responsible for the whole of the mill, including wheels and millwork.

Waterpower

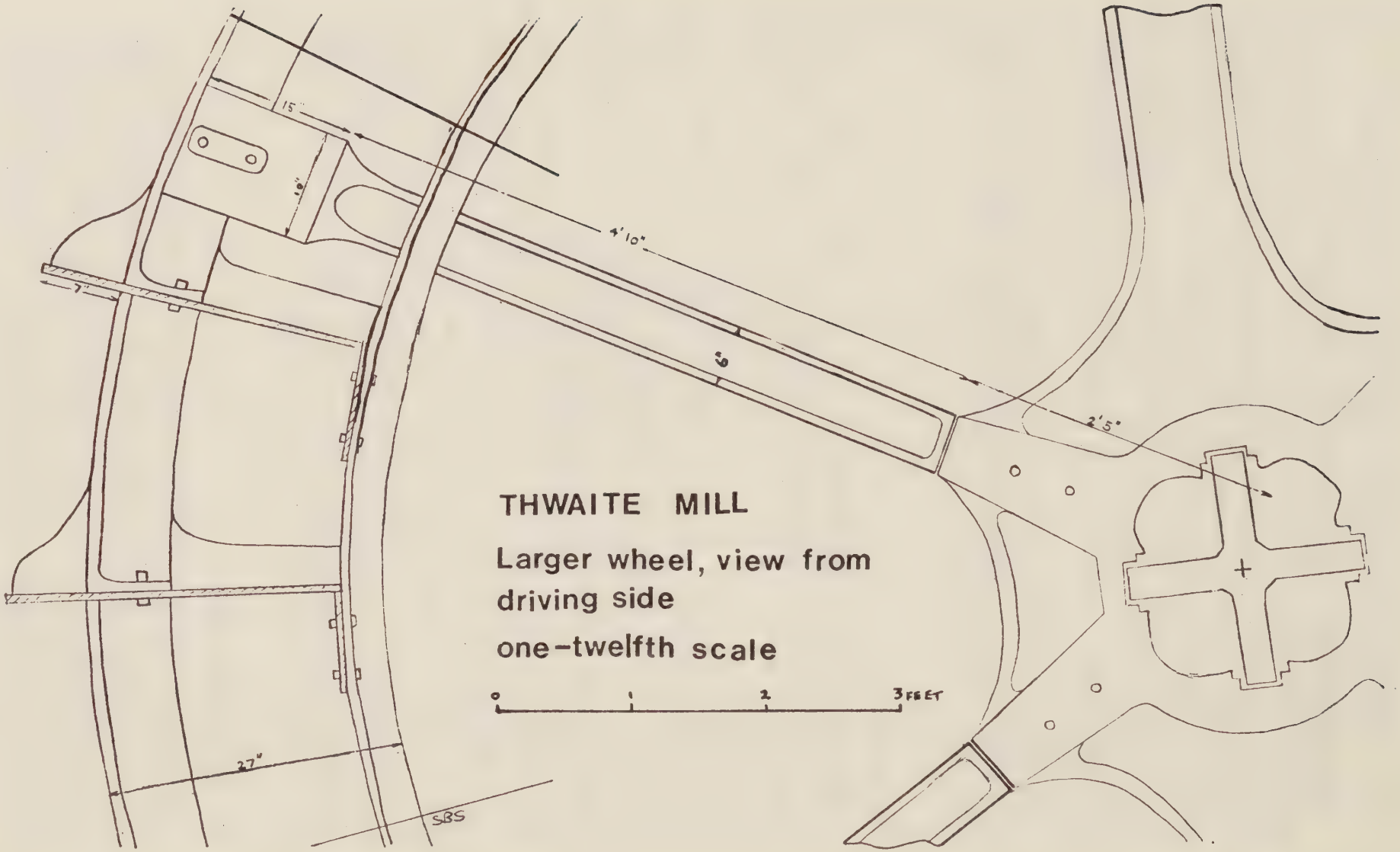
The mills are still powered by the river Aire. A weir about 6 to 8 feet high spans the river immediately outside the mill, diverting the water through two sluices on to the two low breast-wheels.

The larger wheel, of 18 feet diameter and 14½ feet width, has a cruciform cast-iron axle, with six cast section spokes on each end. Two of the spokes are continuous across the hub to form one double arm to which the other four spokes are bolted. The straight wooden floats of 2 feet 10 inches depth have backs to them, also of wood, which are bolted on to the cast-iron rings. The calculated power of this wheel is approximately 34 h.p.

The smaller wheel of 19½ feet diameter and 8¾ feet width has a cylindrical cast-iron axle with arms and float boards. It is quite likely that parts of these wheels are original and that any replacements have been cast to the former patterns. Both wheels have a close-fitted breast and have power taken from both ends of the axles by means of pit wheels, which still operate the whole of the mill and workshop via line shafting.

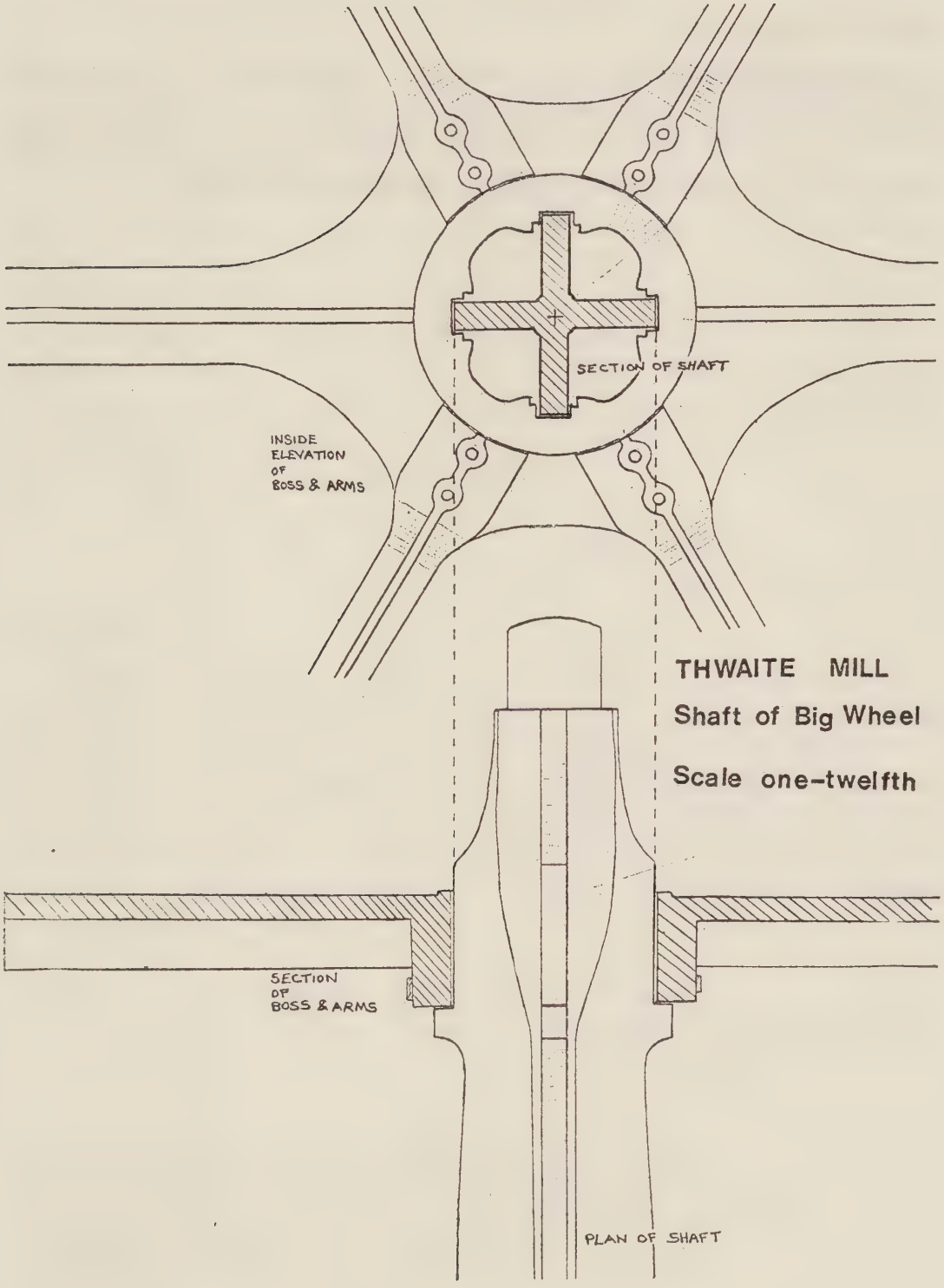
The present machinery

The mill is of particular interest to the technical historian, as the machinery at present being used is of an antiquated type. The line shafting which drives the grinding, mixing and workshop machinery is of the old heavy cumbersome type with large spur wheels. The machinery is not of the same date as the mill, but reflects the technology of the middle and late nineteenth century.


15"
9"
4'10"
7"
6"
2'5"
27"
SBS
THWAITE MILL
Larger wheel, view from driving side
one-twelfth scale
0
1
2
3 FEET

Similar grinding mills are illustrated in the *National Encyclopaedia* (1868), edited by William Mackenzie.

On the lower floor, the mill contains two grinding mills and the site of a third. There is also a beam pump worked on an eccentric from the line shafting. Power was carried across the mill yard to a workshop where there are a variety of belt-driven



woodworking and machine tools. At one time the mill generated its own electric light from the waterpower.

The whole of the mill and site is of such outstanding interest that it is to be hoped that plans will be made for its preservation if it ever passes out of use. It would be the nucleus of an excellent outdoor museum for Leeds.

Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to two of my colleagues at the History of Science Department, Manchester University: W. N. Slatcher for his work on the British Transport Historical Records at York, and Dr A. J. Pacey for his help in surveying the mill.

EBOR HOUSE

by

ALLISTER LONSDALE, M.A.

THE EARLIEST REFERENCE TRACED so far to Ebor House, Middleton Road, Leeds 10, is dated 29 May 1740, and records the baptism of a child 'from Haber House'.[1]

At that time Catholicism in Leeds, as elsewhere, was centred upon the houses of those members of the gentry who adhered to the Old Faith and could afford to maintain a chaplain. To the south of Leeds there was such a house at Middleton, owned by the Brandlings. The last chaplain there was the Rev. Fr Edward Antoninus Hatton, O.P., who was ejected in December 1755.[2] The then owner of Ebor House was a Protestant called Fenton, who placed at Fr Hatton's disposal an upper room.[3] From here he wrote a delightfully trenchant letter:[4]

Heber House,

May 27th, 1771.

Dear Sir,

According to your desire I send you a Copy of what d'ye call it (for I'm sure I don't know what to call it) lately arrived from Septicollis [*i.e. the Seven Hills, or Rome*], and is as follows: . . .

I shall make no comment on this admirable piece of Septicollian erudition farther than to reflect that the Congregation de Propaganda but ill deserves that Name when instead of propogating they are using all Means possible to destroy the Catholic Religion in England . . .

Your very affectionate brother,

and most obliged humble Servant,

E. Hatton.

[1] Rothwell Parish Register, printed in Y.P.R.S., 34, 545.

[2] Norman Waugh, *St Anne's Cathedral and the Leeds Missions* (1904), 15; and Ushaw Collections, MSS., II, 313 (Ushaw College, Durham).

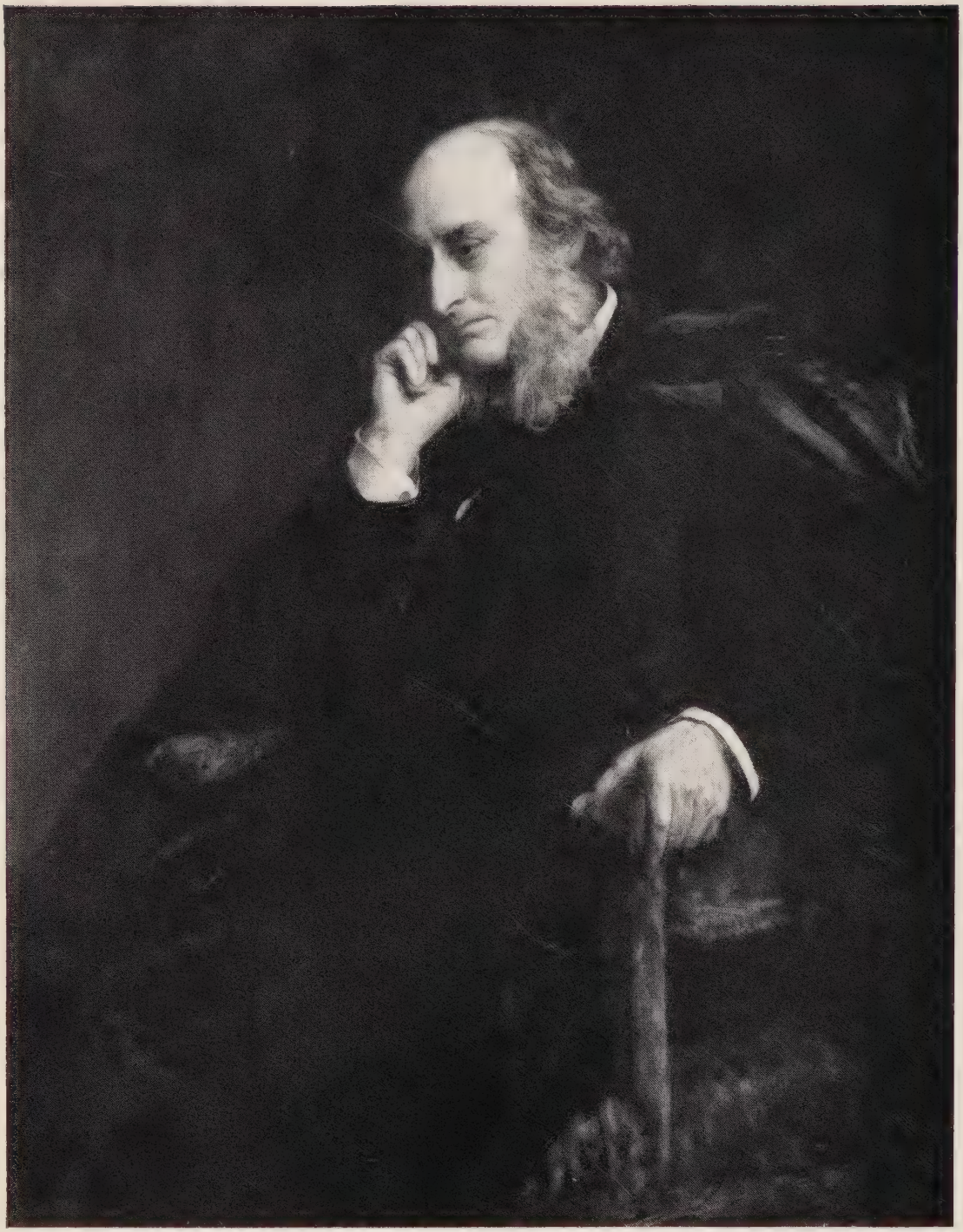
[3] Waugh, *op. cit.*, 6.

[4] Catholic Record Society, 25, 118.

Ebor House was used as a Catholic centre until 1776 when Stourton Lodge was built for that purpose.[5]

Ebor House is in an area where much demolition has taken place in the last two or three years, and it was thought that the few facts which are known about the house should be recorded while it is still standing.

[5] A. Lonsdale, "Stourton Lodge, 1776 to April 1965" (*Thoresby Society Publications*. L, 86).



Reproduced by permission of the University of Leeds.

J. D. Heaton, M.D., F.R.C.P.

By John Pettie, R.A., 1884.

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNALS OF JOHN DEAKIN HEATON, M.D., OF CLAREMONT, LEEDS

Edited by

BRIAN and DOROTHY PAYNE

INTRODUCTION

JOHN DEAKIN HEATON, M.D. (LONDON), F.R.C.P., J.P., was an eminent citizen of Leeds in the nineteenth century; he was President of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Chairman of the Council and one of the founders of the Yorkshire College of Science (now the University of Leeds). At various times he was physician to the Public Dispensary, the House of Recovery and the Leeds General Infirmary; he was also a lecturer at the Medical School.

His diaries (now in our possession) are first mentioned in the *Memoir of Dr Heaton*, edited by Sir Thomas Wemyss Reid, who was editor of the *Leeds Mercury* from 1870 to 1887. He was asked to write this memoir after the death of Dr Heaton in 1880, and did so with the help of the diaries, almost entirely avoiding his private life. The memoir was published in 1883, three years after Dr Heaton's death. It was this glimpse into the world of Dr Heaton that encouraged our search for his diaries, and the following extract from Wemyss Reid's memoir will perhaps explain this: 'A hundred years hence, the laborious and comprehensive story told by Dr Heaton in the seven or eight closely written quarto volumes, each of many hundred pages, which formed the work of so many years, will be exceedingly valuable as a picture of domestic life in an English provincial town in the reign of Queen Victoria.'

The diaries are closely written in a neat, legible hand on thick blue paper; they are half-bound in black leather with marbled covers. Each volume has two red labels on the spine, the top one having the initials J.D.H. embossed in gold, and in some instances the appropriate years are given on the lower panel. Strictly speaking these are not diaries, they are not a daily account, but are

Dr Heaton's autobiography, which he wrote with the aid of another daily record that he kept.

His first volume covers 40 years from 1817 to 1863, and relates the history of his father, John Heaton, bookseller of Briggate. He tells of the birth of his sister Ellen in 1816, and his own birth a year later. He writes of their school life and his own progress through university, until he qualified as a doctor and took up residence at 2 East Parade in November 1843. From 1863 the diaries are more detailed and very descriptive. At the time of his death he was about one year behind with the entries. His wife takes up the story: 'Devonshire House, Harrogate. Sun. 11 July 1880. I continue the abstract of my beloved husband's Diary with much hesitation and misgiving — my hand writing is unsuitable — I do not know how much he himself would have written here of it — but I believe he would wish me to complete it, and I have the material for doing so. I resume his narrative of Wed. July 16, 1879 and as I shall copy from his daily note it will be understood that he is writing in the first person.'

There can be no doubt to anyone reading these diaries that Dr Heaton was devoted to his wife and family, and he encouraged them to live useful and interesting lives. They travelled widely in Britain and on the Continent, and spent some part of each year in London, visiting art galleries and exhibitions. He visited the British Medical Association meetings whenever possible, and took part in organising the Leeds meeting (1869). He often attended the meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and encouraged his family to do the same. He sometimes visited the meetings of the Royal Archaeological Institute, and the Royal Society. In most instances these meetings and excursions were extensively covered and were illustrated with engravings, photographs, tickets, menus, programmes, hotel bills and anything else which could depict the scene.

In 1856 he moved from the house in East Parade to 23 Clarendon Road, which he named Claremont, and which he enlarged slightly in the beginning and gradually improved over the years. It was here that he entertained many eminent Victorians and prominent members of Leeds and West Riding society. These were not their only visitors, often large numbers of factory girls and Sunday School scholars would be invited to enjoy the house and gardens.

The majority of these extracts mainly concern Dr Heaton and his sister Ellen, but a little should be said about his wife Fanny. Their meeting can best be described in his own words: '1846.

This year I became acquainted with Fanny Heaton, who in 1850 became my wife. I was charmed with her ingenuous, intelligent manner, and particularly with her sweet gentle, frank voice from my first speaking to her. And the impression which she made at first never wore off; I find, in my diary every occasion on which I saw her, or spoke to her, noted. She had then recently left school, being 17 years of age.'

They were married on 3 April 1850 at St George's Church, the groomsmen were Andrew Fairbairn[1] and Aldam Heaton,[2] Miss Ellen Heaton and Miss Marian Heaton[3] being bridesmaids. Dr Heaton wrote to Fanny daily when he was away from home; or as was more often the case, when she was away recuperating after some illness. These letters which he started to write to her when they first met continued until his death, and were kept by Fanny at his request. They are contained in seven volumes bound in black leather, and are also in our possession.

The extracts in Part I have been chosen because they are concerned with the history of Leeds, some of its leading citizens, and their contribution towards the development of the town during the nineteenth century. His wife Fanny also played an important part in the community, and to illustrate this some of her activities are given. The extracts from the diaries and letters in Part II cover aspects of his early family life, with some account of his sister Ellen.

The diaries are well written, and Dr Heaton's style is so readable, that it is possible to print them exactly as written by him without any further explanation of the individual items.

The pedigree given on p. 97 shows the relationship between the Heaton and Atkinson families, and also gives the more intimate names with which Dr Heaton refers to his children in the diaries.

We should like to thank Colonel R. H. Russell who has kindly answered many letters about the Heatons; it was he who ended our search for Dr Heaton's diaries. Our most grateful thanks go to Mrs Elizabeth Robertson, to whom it is entirely due that the diaries have seen saved, and who has very generously given them to us. We should also like to thank Alderman Mrs Naylor, O.B.E., J.P., for

[1] Later Sir Andrew Fairbairn son of Sir Peter Fairbairn.

[2] Fanny's brother, partner with his father in the firm, Pease & Heaton, stuff merchants; later became an interior decorator in London, working mainly with the architect, R. Norman Shaw; friend of D. G. Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites.

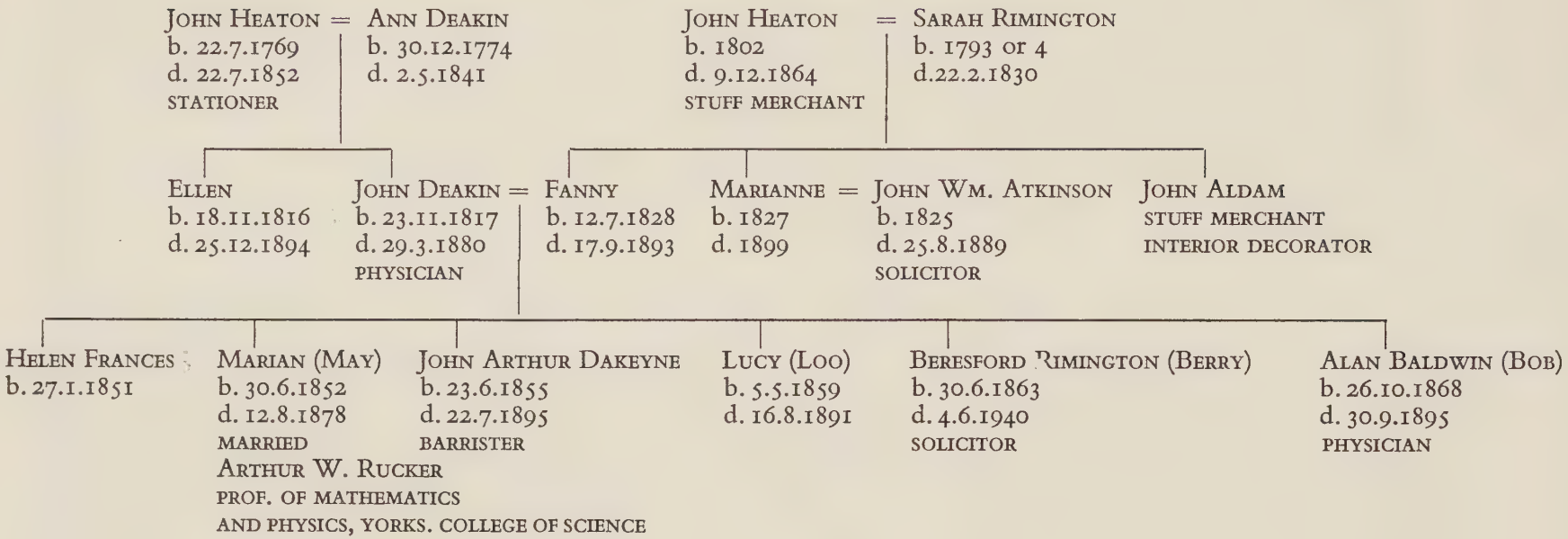
[3] Fanny's sister, married John William Atkinson, solicitor, of Little Woodhouse, 1 October 1851.

telling us about the portrait of Ellen Heaton, and kindly allowing us to photograph it.

The portrait of Ellen Heaton, possibly by Thos. Richmond, is reproduced by permission of Mrs R. Chaddock.

The portrait of J. D. Heaton, M.D., F.R.C.P. (a posthumous painting by John Pettie, R.A., 1884, presented to the University of Leeds by Mrs Fanny Heaton and members of the Heaton family) is reproduced by permission of the University of Leeds.

PEDIGREE OF JOHN DEAKIN HEATON, M.D., F.R.C.P., J.P.



EXTRACTS FROM DR HEATON'S DIARIES

Part I

LEEDS GENERAL INFIRMARY

1860. About this time the question of a new Infirmary for Leeds was under serious consideration; and various sites for a new building were suggested and discussed. The erection of additional buildings on the present site, a site on the St John's Hill estate, Mr Birchall's Springfield estate, and land belonging to Mr Blayds at the top of Cookridge Street were all under consideration.

1861. Towards the end of the year, the much discussed question of the site of the new Infirmary was finally decided. Mr Barr agreed to sell his house and the land east of St George's Church, and other adjoining land including the Baptist chapel, was treated for, so as to form a sufficiently large plot for the purpose. This will be a good site, as being in an open, elevated situation, and not too far from the centre of the town, and the railway stations.

1866. June. The new Infirmary buildings being now in a forward state, and the Chapel giving promise of being an elegant and correctly ecclesiastical structure, I was anxious that it should be appropriately and effectively decorated. The East window being *apsidal*, with a lancet window of two lights in each of its three sides, I proposed some time ago, to give stained glass for one of the three windows, if gentlemen could be found willing to give the other two. No response being volunteered to this offer, I made personal application to several gentlemen whom I thought likely to join in this work. My only success was with Andrew Fairbairn, who said he would give one if the other two were secured. Not to lose his offer, I agreed to undertake both the others; intending to make one a memorial window of my father (who was for about quarter of a century a regular attendant at the weekly Board of the Infirmary), and my mother; and that the other should be reserved as a memorial of myself and my wife after our decease . . . I wrote to the building Committee an offer to this effect, mentioning likewise A. Fairbairn's co-operation, and forwarding a sketch of a design for the work which I had procured from the firm of Lavers and Barraud who made the window for me in Hunslet Church.[4] Upon this the following resolution was passed

[4] In the south side of the chancel of Hunslet Church a stained glass window was inserted to the memory of his grandparents, John and Mary Heaton. The window represents St Mary and St John.

and communicated to me: 'That the handsome offer made by Dr Heaton as set forth in the preceding latter, be accepted with thanks, and that he be requested to convey to Mr Fairbairn the thanks of the Committee for his seasonable proposal which is also accepted.' Each of the three windows is estimated to cost £100. I prepared a scheme of the design of the entire window, which the artist has worked out. In the arch of each window will be arms and initials; of my father and mother in one, of myself and Fanny in the other. Each of the three windows will contain four large subjects, or groups, and two small panels. The groups of one window will represent Parables of Christ, more especially relating to works of charity; the second will illustrate Miracles of Healing by Christ; the third will illustrate sayings of Christ inculcating Acts of Mercy. The six panels will contain representations of natural objects referred to in the Bible, somewhat conventionally treated, Lilies, sparrows, briars and myrtles, roses and vines, with appropriate texts written underneath.

1866. August. About this time, there were some meetings of the gentry of Leeds, to decide upon holding an Art and Industrial Exhibition in the new Infirmary buildings before its appropriation to the permanent use of an hospital. It had been understood that the building would be ready for use as an hospital in 1867, but it was now understood that this temporary appropriation of the building to the purposes of an Exhibition would occasion the necessity of a delay till 1868 of the removal of the Infirmary to the new site; and after this had been consented to, it was subsequently decided that, as the great International Exhibition in Paris was to take place in 1867, it would be expedient to postpone the Leeds Exhibition till 1868, thus affording more time for its greater perfection; but necessarily, also, postponing the removal of the Infirmary to 1869, or two years after the time which was promised, had there been no Exhibition. It was decided also, subsequently that the Leeds Exhn. should be of Art merely, and not of Industry.

Again to meet the claims of the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, which professed to have made the first proposal for an Art and Industry Exhibn. in Leeds, and to insure the co-operation of the friends of that Institution it was subsequently agreed by the acting committee, and consented to, that the Mechanics Institute should have £2,000 out of the profits which it was hoped, would be realised out of the Exhibn; and, at a subsequent period, to anticipate somewhat the course of events, a further proposition — started by Mr Waring, who was appointed the manager of the Exhibition, at a salary of

£1,000 per annum, — was conceded, viz., that all profits above £12,000, should be divided between the Infirmary, and the Institution of a permanent Art gallery in Leeds.

All these extensions and variations of the original proposal were, however, only gradually introduced; and were not named when a guarantee list to amount to £50,000 was opened; and which finally reached to double that sum; to this list I subscribed £250.

The result of all these new suggestions is that the use of the Infirmary building for the purpose for which it is intended is delayed two years, for the purpose of raising a sum of money to be divided between itself and two other objects.

1867. September. I may add here, in connection with this subject of stained glass in the Infirmary, that . . . Lavers and Barraud having been deprived of the opportunity of exhibiting further samples of their work, together with that of other glass stainers, in the large windows of the grand staircase, generously presented a stained glass window, which is placed at [the] East end of the principal corridor, near the approach to the Chapel, for which I suggested the subject of the Brazen Serpent in the Wilderness. As this window was given chiefly to oblige me, (as Mr Lavers expressed in a letter which he wrote to me) I may fairly consider that the Infirmary is indebted to my action for this handsome window as well as those for the Chapel.

1867. It was about the end of September that the stained glass was inserted in [the] apsidal East window of the Chapel. . . . Since their insertion, they have been much admired by many competent judges, and I consider them quite satisfactory, except that the coats of arms in the arch of each window are feebly executed, and poorly coloured. . . . At the same time, the circular West window of the same Chapel was inserted; by my exertions, though not at my cost. Messrs Lavers and Barraud who made these windows, wished to have stained glass in this West window, so that not too bright a light might pass thro' it and fall upon the inner surface of the East windows. I therefore procured a design from them, and collected the whole of the expense, in small sums from numerous contributors.

1868. Tuesday 18 May. At 11 o'clock, our party, consisting of Fanny and I, Ellen, Miss Rimington,[5] and Mrs Aldam Heaton[6]

[5] An aunt of Mrs Heaton.
[6] Formerly Miss Morley, governess of Sir Peter Fairbairn's children.

drove to the Infirmary, where after some delay owing to many carriages in advance, we got admission to the central Hall, and took the places allotted to us. The Prince [of Wales] was expected soon after 12, but it was after 1 o'clock before he made his appearance. After a tedious delay, his arrival was announced by a salute of 21 guns, fired from six cannons of the Royal Artillery now stationed in Leeds, which were drawn up, by permission of Mr Barr in the piece of vacant ground between our house and Miss Atkinson's. The Prince entered the Hall preceded by a procession of the Corporation in their robes, committees, officials, noblemen, and the Prince's suite. 'God save the Queen' was played by Hallé's band. Then some addresses to the Prince were read and replied to by him; there was a prayer by the Bishop, and some more music, and the Prince and his suite went to inspect the Galleries, whilst the company had to sit still and hear more music. After a considerable time, the Prince returned and declared the Exhibition opened. After that he went to lunch, and the company were allowed to go into the galleries.

It was expected that the Prince would leave the Infirmary to return to Temple Newsam, where he was staying, about 4 o'clock; and large crowds were collected in the streets, and on platforms erected for the purpose, and in windows, all along the line of route of his return. The Volunteer Rifle Corps had been in attendance outside the front of the Infirmary during all the time of the Prince's stay, and the Yorkshire Hussars on horseback had been drawn up in the street. Five o'clock came; every one was tired with waiting for hours, but the Prince did not appear; still those who had waited so long were unwilling to lose the object for which they had come, and every one kept his place. Soon the sky became overcast, and a violent thunder storm came on. The rain fell in torrents. The Military had to keep their places, and soon had a complete wetting in addition to their previous exhaustion; but the crowds of sight-seers, in their smart dresses, and bonnets provided for the occasion, were put to complete discomfiture, and fled in every direction; their dresses were spoiled, and they missed the sight for which they had patiently waited for hours. It wanted 5 minutes to 6, when at length the Prince and his companions carelessly emerged from the building and drove off. The salute of 21 guns was again fired at the bottom of our garden.

In the evening, after ten o'clock, we went to the Mayor's Ball, in the Victoria Hall, which was a very brilliant affair. The Hall

was very beautifully and elaborately decorated with flags and flowers in pots in wonderful profusion. The whole orchestra was converted into one large bank of flowering plants. The Vestibule was enclosed by large mirrors placed against the gates, and was used for serving tea and coffee, ices and fruits. The refreshment rooms were supplied with abundance of provisions, fruit and wines; and the Mayor's rooms were profusely spread with luxuries for distinguished guests.

The Prince and his party did not arrive till after 12; amongst other distinguished visitors were the Duke of Devonshire, Earl and Countess Fitzwilliam, Lord and Lady Dudley, her sister, the Duchess of St Alban's, and many other of the nobility and gentry. The Prince's party danced among themselves at the top of the room; other visitors dancing on the rest of the floor. None of our party danced. We came away about half past two, after a substantial supper.

1869. March. At a 'Faculty meeting' held at the Infirmary, six of the staff agreed to give £100 each towards the remaining debt on the building. Dr Allbut, the 7th, at first declined to give anything, but ended by agreeing to give £30, making in all 600 guineas. A few days afterwards, Monday 22 March, a public meeting was held for the same object, viz. to adopt measures to raise money to pay off the remaining debt of £30,000 on the building of the Infirmary, which we had been promised would be raised by the proceeds of the Exhibition; which latter, however, instead of raising any surplus, did not quite pay its own expenses, owing to mismanagement and extravagance of its management. I stated at this meeting, that in addition to the donation of 1,000 guineas originally contributed by the Faculty, we were now proposing to make a second contribution of 600 guineas. This statement was received with applause. Nearly £10,000 was subscribed at the meeting; and a canvas was determined upon, in which I took an active part, only ceasing when everyone else had withdrawn from the work. About £20,000 was thus obtained; had the canvas been conducted with energy and perseverance, I am sure the whole amount required might have been obtained.

1869. On Sunday 6 June, the Chapel of the new Infirmary was opened for weekly service, and a sermon preached by the Chaplain Mr Pearson. We attended this service, and have been in the habit of occasionally attending the Sunday morning service since then. The Infirmary began to be occupied by patients early in June.

NEW SCHOOL OF MEDICINE. Park Street

1865. October. I found a good deal of work in preparing for the opening of our New Medical School. The handsome chimney pieces of the Library[7] in this building are given by myself and Dr Chadwick, to whom I made this suggestion. They will cost twenty guineas each. Each has the crest and monogram of its respective donor. They are composed of stone, marble and oak. They are made from working drawings prepared by Corson from a design sketched by myself.

1865. Tuesday 3 October. Was the day of the opening of the School, Mr Paget, Surgeon to the Queen, and Surgeon to St Bartholomew's Hospital, had accepted our invitation to give an address. This was delivered in the Lecture-room of the Phil. Hall [Philosophical Hall], as that at the Medical School was by no means large enough for the occasion, as we had invited all the old students of the School from its foundation, so far as we could make them out, and all the West Riding practitioners. About 500 were present. Sam Hey, the President of Council for the year, took the chair; and I sat beside him, as the chief permanent officer. After the lecture, which [was] entirely extempore, and delivered with the greatest ease and fluency and elegance, the company dispersed, some to hear an Organ performance in the Town Hall, and some to inspect the buildings of the new Infirmary. After that dinner was offered to visitors by the members of Council. at their own houses. I had only 12, though I had specially invited 27. Of these, Dr Thorp, of Cheltenham, first lecturer on Forensic Medicine in our School, and Dr Nevins of Liverpool, a contemporary student with myself at the school, staid for the night at Claremont. In the Evening, we gave a Soiree in the School. The Library was made use of as the Reception Room, in which most of the company who had attended the lecture were introduced to our President and shook hands. He occupied a large Oak chair which had been presented to the School by Ed. Atkinson,[8] our Secretary. In this room were exhibited various objects of interest. Mr Hey's bust of his father, the second Hey, my busts of John Locke, (a medical man) and Shakespeare; curious medical books, among which I sent my copy of the work of Taliacotius on the Rhino-plastic or Taliacotian operation, for supplying new noses; Microscopes, etc. The reception commenced at 8 o'clock; and at

[7] These chimney pieces are no longer there.
[8] Son of John Atkinson and Mary Hey. Brother of John William Atkinson.

half past eight, the company adjourned to the Lecture room. where as many as could gain entrance, were addressed successively by the President, Mr Paget and Saml. Smith, the only member of council who was one of the founders of the School. On the lecture room table were surgical instruments and other apparatus. After this refreshments were given in the Dissecting Room, (which had not been used as such hitherto). This room I had had carpeted, and the walls hung with festoons of drapery, so as to give it a more festive appearance; and I had borrowed some benches from the Town Hall, so that it looked very nice. Here tea and coffee, cakes, hot-house grapes and ices were supplied to the company. The rest of the evening was spent in rambling over the different parts of the building; the museum was lighted up, its specimens all arranged, and many other curious objects temporarily exhibited. In the Laboratory Mr Fairley showed chemical experiments and preparations, non-explosive gunpowder, Serpents of Pharoah etc. In the private Laboratory Pridgin Teale exhibited the Endoscope, then newly invented. Everything went off well, and gave satisfaction. After ten o'clock the company began to disperse. The following morning both my visitors left me. Dr Thorp, before leaving, told me of his intention of giving annually a Prize of £10, to the School, for the best Student in Forensic Medicine.

ST GEORGE'S CHURCH. Great George Street

1857. About this time Mr Sinclair, who had been for many years the incumbent of St George's Church, (having held the living from the completion of the church till now) was presented to the living of Pulborough in Sussex said to be worth about £1400 per annum. On Sunday the 15 February, he preached his farewell sermon at St George's, when the church was crowded; and on the following morning, he was invited by the congregation to a farewell breakfast at the Scarbro' Hotel, when a silver tea and coffee service, and a large salver, and a purse of 500 guineas were presented to him. The members of the Philosophical Society likewise subscribed for a marble bust of Mr Sinclair, by Marochetti, which now stands on a bracket in the lecture room of the Society.

1857. In April the Revd. John Blomefield,[9] son of Sir Thos. Blomefield of Brighton was appointed successor to Mr Sinclair,

[9] b. 27 October 1824, d. 22 February 1908, married Sophia Elizabeth daughter of the Rev. John D'Arcy Jervis Preston of Askam Bryan, Yorks.

and commenced duty. He is a small feeble looking young man, ultra evangelical, and very low church; his only gift seems to be that of preaching evangelical sermons.

1865. 29 December. On Friday, Mr Blomefield called on Marian to ask her to remove some painted crosses from the Christmas decorations, and of which he had previously expressed his full approval; as one of the ladies of the congregation had declared she could not go to the church so long as they were there.

1866. April. About this time and for a few months subsequently, part of the congregation of St George's Church was agitated by a renewal of the proposal which I had made unsuccessfully some time ago, to enlarge the Church by adding a Chancel, and making other alterations involving bringing down the Organ and placing the choir likewise near the organ in the Chancel. Mr Blomefield professed to be anxious for it in a shilly-shally way. Some time ago he printed a handbill for distribution in the pews, saying that the time had come to move in it; but he did not move. To bring the matter before the congregation, I had some plans prepared by Corson, according to my suggestion, and I called a small meeting in the school-room to consider the plans; but all that Mr B. did was to raise objections to my plan. At a subsequent time, the matter had been taken up, but nothing had been done. Now, some of the people seemed rather more inclined to take the matter in hand; and had Mr Blomefield been at all spirited and conciliatory, the matter might have been accomplished. He did not however seem capable of taking any lead, or to have any influence, his chief action being to reject uncompromisingly what others proposed; so that no progress could be made. He objected to stalls for the choir, on two grounds; that he might have to sit at the head of the choir when he read prayers, to which his pride could not submit, and lest the choir might be expected to wear surplices to which he would never consent, not that he considered it of much importance himself, but lest it should hinder his chance of *promotion*, as he knew that the high-church would not look at him, and his evangelical friends might object to his having allowed the introduction of a surpliced choir into a church of which he was the minister. He wrote a letter to Mr Nelson upon some plans for the alteration to which he and others had consented, as a compromise of several opinions, coolly saying that it contained everything that was objectionable, and so generally offensive that Mr Nelson told him that if anyone else had written it he

should have just sent it back again. The discussion about surplices lead to Mr B. calling some of his congregation, including Mr Dibb, Mr Nelson and I believe myself, Ritualists, and on Mr Dibb objecting to be called so Mr B. told him he did not understand the meaning of the word, upon which Mr Dibb fired up and discharged a large amount of pent up wrath. The result of all was that nothing could be done about altering the church, and a great amount of ill feeling was aroused in the congregation. All the 'esprit de corps' which used to bind the congregation together in former times seems quite gone, and the congregation has fallen into a cold languid indifferent frame, not merely from the negation of any warmth or stimulus, but from the positive discouragement which Mr B. contrives to offer to any movement. A year ago Andrew Fairbairn wrote to Mr B. as the incumbent of the parish, offering the gift of a site for a new church, much wanted, if means were forthcoming to erect the church within a definite time. Mr B. put the letter in his pocket and left it for a year without taking any movement in the matter; he even left Fairbairn's letter so long unanswered as to give him serious displeasure.

1870. Friday 17 July. Mr Blomefield having intimated to his church warden that Mrs B. was expecting a 'little stranger', and that, though his expenses were thus increasing, his income from pew-rents had declined considerably, in consequence of all the pews not being let, as formerly, (though the population of the parish has rapidly increased) a meeting was held today of the Trustees and churchwardens, to consider what could be done. The churchwardens only proposed to collect a purse of money to present to Mr B as was done before when the same distress of the failing pew-rents was brought before us. Mr Dibb suggested a larger effort to raise from £400 to £500, to pay off the debt upon the parsonage, the interest and gradual liquidation of which at present subjects Mr Blomefield to an annual expenditure of about £40. This proposal was accepted; Mr Dibb, Mr Hey and Mr Stables each said he would give £25; Reffitt, the churchwarden, who called the meeting, declined to commit himself to anything, but ultimately gave £5. I considered that the congregation could not undertake to relieve Mr Blomefield from the consequences of a diminishing congregation, for which he must be responsible; besides which I had too many children of my own to follow the example of some who have none; I agreed to give ten guineas. Ultimately the sum was made up, and the parsonage relieved from debt.

1871. Monday 10 April. At the annual Vestry Meeting of St George's parish, after the election of church wardens, Mr Blomefield brought forward a proposal that the congregation (which already pays for a second curate) should guarantee the stipend of a third, as he thought he knew of a suitable man whom it was desirable to secure, and as the population of the parish was on the increase. This proposal was met rather coldly; some expressions of doubt of the possibility of raising the necessary sum were spoken; after which I undertook to point out that although the population of the parish increased, the congregation (from whom alone the guarantee could be asked) could not increase beyond the limits of pew accommodation, and that, as a matter of fact, it was decreasing; there being at the present time many pews unlet, and there being always many empty pews. That we had already 2 Curates, besides the Vicar, one of whom was entirely paid by the congregation; that for the services of the church this was ample; and a limited congregation could not be expected to be from time to time providing increased pastoral superintendence for an increasing population. That we did also contribute largely towards the stipend of the Chaplain of the Infirmary, which was in the parish, so that the Chaplain was a curate of St George's and was appointed by the Vicar. That the right course was rather that a new church should be provided for the district unsupplied, the population being quite capable of maintaining a clergyman for their own benefit. I also pointed out that, some time ago, Sir Andrew Fairbairn had some time ago made a communication to Mr Blomefield offering to give a site for a church on the Woodsley Estate on certain conditions, if the church were provided within a definite time; but that this offer had been quite neglected, not even had it been communicated to the congregation; so that Sir A. F. had told me that he had felt hurt by the slight, and the offer now withdrawn. The meeting seemed to agree with me; and a resolution was passed to call another meeting of pew holders, exactly what Mr Blomefield would not like; and this second meeting never was held nor summoned.

1872. On Monday 5 February, I attended a meeting of the Trustees of St George's Church, to consider a proposal to erect a new Church in Woodhouse Lane,[10] in St George's district, part of the district allotted to which would be taken off St George's Parish; the erection of the church being promoted by the Leeds

[10] Emmanuel Church, Woodhouse Lane, see pp. 110-11.

Church Extension Society. We agreed to the proposal, suggesting that the patronage of the new church should be in the hands of 5 Trustees; of whom three should be appointed by St George's Trustees, one by the Church Extension Board, and one by the Vicar of St George's, in the first instance, but subsequently to be self elective.

1873. At the beginning of the year our Vicar, Mr Blomefield, resigned the living of St George's, having an offer of a more valuable incumbency in Knightsbridge, London, which would suit him and Mrs Blomefield much better than Leeds where they always confessed themselves out of their element among mercantile people and tradesmen. The Trustees of the patronage (of whom I am one) held a preliminary meeting on Friday to take steps to find a successor.

1873. February. The Trustees of St George's made their first offer of the living to Mr Melville Scott, a relative of Sir Gilbert Scott (the architect) and of the Heys. He had at that time a church at Derby which he had quite filled. Ultimately he declined the offer (much to my regret) as I believe, on account of the character which St George's had acquired of ultra low-churchism. Our next offer was made to Mr Leeke, curate to his father, Vicar of Holbrook, Derbyshire whom Mr Scott recommended to us when he declined; but Mr Leeke also declined. So the Trustees had again to commence their enquiries.

1873. March. During this month ... the Trustees of St George's living made a third offer; Mr Adams[11] was then acting as assistant to Mr Fenn of Blackheath, having formerly lived many years as English Chaplain at Monte Video. We were certainly, unjustifiably hasty in making this offer; as none of the Trustees had heard him preach, or seen him; but he was very highly recommended to us; we were somewhat annoyed by previous refusals, and the unsuitability of many who had offered or were suggested, and we were informed that Mr Adams was on the point of accepting another offer. So our offer was made. Mr Adams came to Leeds, had an interview with the Trustees and accepted the living. Our subsequent experience shows that he has many good qualities but is not altogether what we should have desired for St George's, nor what we anticipated. He is partly of Irish extraction, and has much frankness and geniality of manner, and real kindness

[11] Samuel Adams, b. 27 November 1828, d. 22 September 1911. Vicar of St George's 1873 to 1880.

and good temper, I should think. He preaches always extempore, and speaks with much freedom and fluency, but there is nothing original or very interesting in what he has to say, and he is apt to become noisy and ranting sometimes, which offends some of his congregation much. However, his pleasant sociable manner with his people is a great contrast to the coldness and reserve of his predecessor ... In the early part of the month of April, Mr Adams staid at Claremont for some days; having come to look after alterations and repairs in the Parsonage, and attend to various business preparatory to entering on the duties of Vicar ... We found him an agreeable guest.

1874. July. St George's Church was closed at this time to be painted and decorated; this work was to have been completed in two months, but was more than double that time; the church was not opened till November; meanwhile the congregation was invited to attend at St Paul's Church,[12] which Mr Strattan, the incumbent, had put at the service of Mr Adams and his people; his own congregation being so small that in fact the whole church is vacant.

ST GEORGE'S NATIONAL SCHOOL

1859. The Secretaryship of St George's Schools having fallen vacant at this time; I was persuaded to take the office, which involved a good deal of trouble; and which I held for a few years, till I undertook the still more troublesome and more responsible office of Treasurer. At this time the Committee had recognised the necessity of enlarging the School buildings, and providing a play-ground for the children, as the Inspector had noted the inefficiency of our present arrangements. Accordingly, I had no sooner taken office than I commenced with Mr Blomefield an active canvass for contributions for this object, for which we proposed to raise upwards of £2,000.

1860. Fanny was very much occupied this spring in working and making arrangements for a Bazaar to clear off the debt on the Burmantoft's National Schools, belonging to Mr Rowel's[13] church; into which she had been persuaded to enter. As our own Schools were a good deal in debt for the new buildings and Playground, Fanny and I wished to [arrange] a Bazaar of some

[12] Park Square.

[13] Frederick Thos. Rowell, M.A., Perpetual Curate of St Stephen's, Burmantofts, Leeds, 1851-65.

magnitude to clear both Schools of debt, as being more likely to succeed for both schools if on a larger scale. Mr Blomefield, however, stubbornly opposed having any Bazaar for St George's; he had rather beg the money himself, as he said, when asked how then were we to pay off our debt. However, he did not beg the money himself; and at a subsequent time, when the difficulty of our debt at St George's faced him, he very [in]consistently proposed that we should have a little Bazaar to clear it off. I then told him that after his former opposition to a Bazaar, I and Fanny would have nothing to do with one now.

LEEDS CHURCH EXTENSION FUND

1864. June. At this time there was a movement in Leeds to raise a fund for Church extension; some large sums had been contributed on condition that £50,000 should be raised within a definite time. Great efforts were therefore made to raise subscriptions to the required amount. I gave £200, and was placed on the general canvassing committee which met from time to time. in the rooms of the Pious Use trustees. In the end upwards of £60,000 was subscribed within the prescribed time, and the whole was therefore secured.

EMMANUEL CHURCH

1877. November. There was at this time, some difficulty about Emanuel [*sic*] Church, one of the churches in process of erection by the Church Extension Board, in what is now part of the Parish of St George. The work had been let to a contractor who now found that his contract was much too low, owing to some miscalculation, and threw up his contract though at a loss of £500 value of work and materials unpaid for. The committee was therefore obliged to make a new contract with some other builder; but the lowest tender that could now be obtained, was some £2,000 (I think) above the amount for which the work was to have been completed under the original contract, though the new man would have the advantage of the £500 lost by the first contractor. In the first contract the committee had gone to the full extent of their means, so that for the second increased sum, they must either obtain more donations, or incur responsibilities, which they had no means of meeting; or they must curtail the work to be undertaken. Times were most unfavourable for obtaining more donations, the committee would not choose to

incur responsibilities which they could not meet; so the work had to be curtailed; transepts, chancel and spire were renounced for the present, and with the help of some additional donations which were obtained, there seemed the probability of being able to complete the nave in which services might be performed, though the building would be much curtailed of its due proportions.

LEEDS IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY

1851. 27 January. I was at a meeting of the Conversation Club[14] at which a new Society "The Leeds Improvement Society" was constituted; and I was made Hony. Secy. The object was to suggest and promote architectural, and other public improvements in the town. The Socy. was maintained by subscriptions, and existed for two or three years, during which time I took much trouble in the matter. We had public lectures on practical subjects, such as the consumption of smoke in furnaces, the best construction of roads etc. But the society had no executive authority — it could only suggest; and was constantly in danger of coming into collision with the Town Council, and some other public bodies. It did some good, though not commensurate with the trouble and cost; it obtained the widening of a street; thro' its bringing the subject of the smoke nuisance prominently before the public, it lead to the appointment by the Town Council, of an Inspector of Smoke; and by constant objection to the use of such large quantities of cinders in making the roads, it lead to the introduction of a better mode of construction. But all the acting members gradually fell off, discouraged with the small result; and I was left alone, with only Mr Thos. Wilson as Treasurer, and a paid Secy. who likewise resigned discouraged; and the Society died a natural death, with about £50 in hand, which is at the present time lying at Beckett's waiting for an object.

1864. February. A short time ago, I addressed a letter to the chairman of the nuisance committee of the Town Council, urging the necessity of adopting some measures for restraining the making of smoke by manufacturers, in consequence of this I was invited to tea by Mr Tatham, Chairman of the Sub-committee on smoke,

[14] In June 1849 was founded the Leeds Conversation Club, of which Dr Heaton was one of the first members. It consisted of 12 gentlemen, who met once a month in the Evg. at the house of each member in succession. The order of proceedings was Tea, then conversation on some definite subject determined on, general or political (but not on party politics, or religion) then supper.

to meet other members of the committee to talk over the subject; but I had to come away with the conviction that they would do nothing.

1865. At the meeting of the Conversation Club, on Tuesday 26 December, I proposed as a subject for discussion, the question, What should be done to obtain the insertion into the new Leeds Improvement Bill, then about to be introduced into Parliament by our Town Council, of more efficient clauses to enforce the Consumption of Smoke? — For some time there had been very great and well founded complaint that the smoke from manufactories in Leeds was greatly on the increase, and that the Smoke Inspector appointed by the Town Council, was quite inoperative to enforce the due consumption of the smoke. The public were generally met, when this complaint was made, by the answer that the powers then conferred by their Improvement Acts, upon the Town Council were insufficient to enable them to act efficiently; but that when they prepared their new Bill, they would have clauses giving them more powers. Great then was my surprise and displeasure on finding, when their new Bill was printed, that no additional powers whatever were given to prevent the Smoke Nuisance; in fact the subject was not touched. The fact is that the Town Council contains a large proportion of smoke Makers, who have no wish to be disturbed or to disturb others; and it is only by strong and continual pressure from without that they can be compelled to do their duty at all in repressing the nuisance of smoke. After waiting for some weeks after the publication of their Bill, without anyone taking up the subject, or any general indignation being expressed at their want of good faith with the public, I determined that the present opportunity must not be lost, and if no one else would move in the matter, I must endeavour to take some measures to rouse the public mind and to force the Town Council to obtain some better powers in their proposed Act. I thought the best mode of opening the subject might be by a discussion in our Club, which is composed of some of the leading and more influential gentlemen of the Town; and with this view I introduced the subject at this meeting. We had a good discussion; and, as it will be seen, in the course of next year, this lead to some important results. At this time, I and Mr A. Lupton were appointed to see the Town Clerk, to get from him some necessary information as to the measures to be adopted for getting the necessary alterations made in the Bill now deposited.

1866. At this time I was giving much time and attention to the necessary arrangements for improving the Bill of the Town Council, in reference to the Smoke Nuisance. On Thursday 8 February, a meeting of the gentlemen was held in the Philosophical Hall, to take this subject into consideration, and certain resolutions were adopted and a deputation appointed to communicate them to the Town Council, urging upon that body the adoption of more efficient measures against this evil. The meeting was very influential and evidently had a considerable effect upon the Town Council who were scarcely prepared for so strong an opinion in condemnation of their wilful inertia.

February 14. In addressing the Town Council it fell to my lot to be the spokesman of the deputation. Many meetings of a Committee which had been appointed to carry out the object of obtaining the insertion of efficient clauses in the new Leeds Improvement Bill, had to be held; and a good deal of work and responsibility devolved on me as Secretary of the Committee.

1866. April. On the 26th I received a letter from Mr Dibb,[15] in London, (where he had gone professionally to superintend the promotion of the Clauses which we sought to introduce into the new Leeds Improvement Bill . . .) to the effect that our clauses had passed the Committee of the House of Commons though violently opposed by the Iron Masters Association, who (however) threatened further opposition in the House of Lords. I may mention here, that this opposition was subsequently renewed in the House of Lords Committee, with the result of extending the time over which a successful process of consumption of Smoke in Iron Works must be proved to have been in operation, from 6 months as provided in the Commons, to ['6' *deleted*] months, before any proceedings can be taken against the nuisance of Smoke arising from Iron Works.

1867. February. I had been engaged in collecting contributions to pay the expenses of promoting the insertion of additional clauses to enforce the consumption of Smoke, in the new Leeds Improvement Act. These expenses amounted to £120; towards which I collected £80, which together with a grant of £40 from a sum of money in hand belonging to the defunct Leeds Improvement Socy., made up the amount, and enabled me to discharge the account.

[15] Thos. Townsend Dibb, solicitor. Dibb & Atkinson, Butts Court.

OPENING OF THE NEW LEEDS BRIDGE

1873. 9 July. The new Bridge over the river at the bottom of Briggate was formally opened by the Mayor, Mr Oxley. I was invited with other West Riding Magistrates, to take part in the proceedings. There was a walking procession from the Town Hall, down Briggate, to the Bridge. On the Bridge there was a prayer by the Vicar, and a speech by the Mayor; then some music by the Regimental band of the Lancers, at this time stationed at the Barracks; then the procession returned to the Town Hall, and a handsome lunch was provided by the Mayor in the Victoria Hall. Tom Taylor, the writer and dramatist, happened to be in Leeds at the time, to superintend the performance of his play called 'Arkwrights Wife' at the theatre; and he was invited to the lunch, after which he was called on to speak. Instead of saying anything appropriate to the occasion, he took the opportunity to make a violent personal attack on Mr Baines, who was present, because the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury* had refused, (in accordance with their usual practice) to insert a criticism on his play in their paper. Taylor indulged in much coarse invective, charging the editors, (as represented by Mr Baines) with hypocrisy in refusing to notice the elevating and instructive drama, while inserting advertisements and notices of many other matters of a very objectionable nature. Naturally this speech gave much offence, and Taylor found that he had made Leeds rather too hot for his comfortable sojourn here any longer, and consequently he hurried off to some distant place, I think the Isle of Man, from which as I afterwards heard, he wrote a letter excusing his attendance of a Dinner at the Club, to which he had been invited by a few gentlemen and where he had agreed to be present; the letter of course coming after the gentlemen had eaten their dinner in the unexplained absence of their expected guest.

OPENING OF ROUNDHAY PARK AND THE NEW EXCHANGE BUILDINGS

1872. Thursday 19 September was a very busy public day in Leeds, and fortunately it was a fine day, being the day on which Prince Arthur was to open Roundhay Park. There was first an address to the Prince in the Town Hall, then a procession to the Park, some ceremonial there, and a lunch given by the Mayor, and a Ball in the Town Hall in the Evening . . . I had a place with

the Magistrates given to me in the Town Hall, and also a reserved place for a lady; and two places for ladies and one gentlemen's place in the body of the Hall; May, Miss Stocker[16] and Arthur occupied the latter, and Helen went with me to the reserved place in the front. The children went with some of the Atkinsons to the Dispensary, in care of Dr Symes, which place commands a good view of the upper part of Briggate, through which the procession to the Park would pass. We were much annoyed at not having our own carriage for use this day. The Coach builders lent me a shabby old concern of which I was somewhat ashamed, but with which I was obliged to put up.

We had to wait an hour in the Victoria Hall before the arrival of the Prince; he was pretty punctual to his time, 12 o'clock; He walked up the middle of the Hall, accompanied by his suite, and the Mayor, preceded by the Mace, the Organ playing the National Air, and the Choir singing; the Town Clerk read an address, not very audibly; the Prince replied in a clear, audible voice, and then he withdrew; and this part of the proceedings was over. Then there was a long procession, in carriages, to the Park; Public Officers, Members of Parliament, Magistrates (amongst whom I went with Helen, and Joseph Holt, whom we picked up, in the shabby carriage) Town Councillors, the Burmese Ambassadors, (who chanced to be in Leeds at this time, and excited a good deal of curiosity by their Oriental features and gay costume), the Prince's suite, the Prince and the Mayor. The Prince had a Guard of Honour of Yorkshire Hussars; there was also a long string of Oddfellows and other Societies, accompanied by bands of music. Altogether the procession was of great length. We were an hour and a half in reaching the Park. At the Park, I first took Helen to her place in a spacious platform, erected in front of a large open space, where the Prince was to perform the ceremony of opening the Park in the front of assembled multitudes. There I left her to join other Magistrates to wait for the arrival of the Prince at the front of the house, where a walking procession was to be formed to the Platform, (along a road lined by the Volunteers of the different forces,) composed of the various bodies who had joined in the carriage procession to the Park. On reaching the Platform, the Bishop (who was in his robes and accompanied by the Vicar, also in his gown) offered up a prayer; then the Mayor addressed the Prince; and the Prince replied and then declared the Park open.

[16] Governess of Dr Heaton's younger children.

When the cheering subsided, the assembly broke up, and invited guests went to a large tent in which the Mayor had provided a sumptuous lunch. Mr Jowitt had his daughter with him, as I had Helen; we took our daughters to the house, to wait there while we went to the lunch. At the house, we chanced to meet the Mayor, Mr Barran, who very kindly invited our daughters to accompany us to the lunch, Joe Holt was still with us, I introduced him to the Mayor as my fellow magistrate, and secured an invitation for him also. We had a very handsome entertainment, but I was obliged to come away before any speeches were made . . . At night, I had to take my sister, Miss Backhouse, Helen and May to the Ball in the Victoria Hall. The Prince and his party were expected at half past eleven, but did not arrive till after midnight, from Harewood House where he was staying. The Burmese ambassadors sat against the wall all evening, in the same dress as they had worn in the morning, and seemed rather dull. The Royal party danced a quadrille by themselves in the first place, every one crowding around to look on; afterwards, dancing became more general. About half past two, amid some remonstrances, I brought my party home.

On Friday, the following morning, the Prince was again in request, to lay the foundation of the new Exchange to be built on the site of the Commercial Buildings, recently taken down to widen the street. The Prince had been persuaded to undertake this task, under the belief, as it was said, that the Exchange was truly a public building, and not merely a speculation of a Limited Liability company. Having admission to this, I took my sister and Helen with me. A handsome covered platform had been erected, where I obtained reserved seats near the Mayoress, for my ladies, myself being located on the stage to be occupied by the Prince and other actors in the ceremony. Here were the Vicar, in his gown and hood, several magistrates, Mr Baines, the inevitable Burmese Ambassadors, again in white frocks, but made of silk, not muslin and crape as yesterday. Mr [Obadiah] Nussey Chairman and other Directors of the company. The Vicar read some prayers, the Chairman read an address of which he presented an illuminated and elegantly bound copy to the Prince who made a short reply, and then laid the stone after which he took his final departure from Leeds. Afterwards Mr Nussey gave a lunch to about 250 gentlemen in the Queen's Hotel. The company was rather miscellaneous and when the champagne began to flow seemed likely to be somewhat noisy. When Mr Baines rose to speak,

anticipating his customary prolixity, and now finding myself in a particularly congenial position, I made my escape.

YORKSHIRE EXHIBITION

1875. On Thursday 13 May, the Duke of Edinbro' visited Leeds, by invitation of Marsden, the Mayor, to open the "Yorkshire Exhibition", which had been formed in the Cloth Hall for the benefit of the Mechanics' Institute, to pay off an old debt upon the bdg. of about £10,000. The collection was very miscellaneous, containing pictures, some of high class, and others worthless, but nearly all in a very bad light, machinery, manufactures, pottery, jewellery, antiquities, curiosities, stained glass, etc. etc.; the attraction being increased by numberless mechanical toys which performed when a penny was dropped into a nick, by concerts and singing, and bar for the sale of beer and buns.

In anticipation of this occurrence, our Spring-cleaning had been rather expedited, so that the house might be ready to receive any guests who should come to see the procession pass our gates. Our large flags were mounted on the top of the house; other flags were erected on each side of the Garden gates, and within the gates a temporary platform was constructed of tables, planks and chairs from which our company might look over the gates at their ease. The day was a general holiday; fortunately the weather was favourable, being fair, though not sunny, or bright. The Duke arrived at the Grt. Northern station about noon, where he was received by the Mayor, and escorted, in an open carriage drawn by four grey horses, to the Mayor's house in Woodhouse Lane. Thence, after some refreshment, he was conducted in a procession, including the Town Councillors in their robes in open carriages, the Prince's own suite, noblemen and invited guests, a troop of 2nd Queen's Bays, at this time stationed in Leeds, and Yorkshire Hussars, to the Exhibition in the Coloured Cloth Hall. Here, upwards of 1,000 spectators were assembled, at the price of two guineas each admission. I was among these, rather fulfilling a duty than taking much interest in the proceedings. Places were allotted by ballot, and I had not a very good one ... The very first man who made his appearance in the Hall, belonging to the procession, was Dr Spark,[17] the Town Hall organist, who, (having contrived to get a degree of Dr of Music from Dublin,) had got himself up in a magnificent red and white silk robe. Then strolled in the

[17] Dr William Spark (1823-97); organist at St George's Church, Leeds.

Leeds Corporation in their robes, followed by the Lord Provost of Edinbro', Lord Mayor of York, Mayors of Sheffield, Dewsbury and Bradford in their robes; the Prince, military officers, noblemen etc. By far the most magnificent object was our own Mayor who had procured a full-red silk velvet robe, trimmed with Ermine, and having a long train, which was tucked up behind to keep it out of the dust, as he had no train bearer. When the Prince reached the platform, there was the National Anthem on the organ, and a prayer by Dr Gott,[18] in red D.D. gown, and an address to the Prince read by the Town Clerk (quite inaudible) and the Prince's reply which was better heard. Then the Prince was conducted round the Exhibition by the Mayor, and meanwhile the spectators were to keep their places and listen to a concert, or musical performance, to pass the time. But I missed all this and any after ceremonial, for, as soon as the Prince moved off, I hastened home to see that arrangements were completed for the comfort of any visitors who might come to see the subsequent procession, which was to pass Claremont . . . All the Streets, along which the processions of different times were to pass, were decorated with flags and wreaths; of course there were crowds of people, but nothing very lively or enthusiastic. The Prince looked tired and dull as he passed our gates; our own little party got up a cheer, and the children waved their flags; but there was no other cheer in our neighbourhood. We had not many visitors in the room, but there was a considerable gathering in the Kitchen. In the Evg. the Mayor gave a ball in the Town Hall. It was opened at the unusually early hour of 8 o'clock, that the Prince might appear and dance a quadrille before leaving Leeds at 8.15. I went for a short time; the Mayor was again magnificent in Court dress, breeches and flesh coloured stockings; the unshapely robustness of his limbs would have appeared to less disadvantage in Black silk stockings. The Prince, the Mayoress, and two daughters, Lord Fitzwilliam (Lord Lieutenant) Mr and Mrs Tennant and some officers made up the first set, after which the Prince and his suite followed. I came away soon after, before the supper.

VISIT OF BARONESS BURDETT COUTTS

1875. 21 July. Wednesday was chiefly occupied with engagements arising out of a visit to Leeds of Lady Burdett Coutts. to preside at the annual meeting of the Society for the preventing

[18] Dr John Gott (d. 1906). Vicar of Leeds 1873-86; afterwards Bishop of Truro.

Cruelty to Animals, in Leeds, this evg. and to lay the foundation stone of a new building for an Asylum for Blind and Deaf[19] on Thursday. This (Wednesday) morning, she visited and inspected the Infirmary; myself, and Mr Brown, the Treasurer, Mr Gough, the Chaplain, Miss Baker, the superintendent of nurses, John Lupton, and the resident medical staff were in attendance, and some of the Committee of the Society for preventing Cruelty to Animals. She was very kind and showed much interest; she went into every ward, and spoke to many patients; and to the officials; she staid about an hour. Lady B. Coutts was accompanied by an elderly lady companion and her secretary, Mr Wagner; having these companions she declined to stay at Claremont which Fanny had invited her to do; preferring to stay at the Grt. Northern Hotel. She invited the Committee of the Leeds Society for preventing Cruelty to Animals to a lunch at the Hotel, after the inspection of the Infirmary. Fanny accompanied me to this entertainment . . . About 40 in all were present, including the Mayor and Mayoress, Bishop Ryan, a son and daughter of the Bishop of Ripon etc. After lunch was the meeting of the Society . . . in the Town Hall. The proceedings were very long; for besides the business of the Society, Lady B. Coutts gave away the Prizes earned by School Board children; and afterwards she made a speech which of course, was heard only by those quite near to her. She spoke at great length, in an easy natural manner, and what she said was kind and sensible, tho' she is rather an enthusiast about the Society . . . Lady B. Coutts' engagements continued the next day. She laid the foundation stone of the Blind and Dumb Asylum. The day was very uncomfortable, and rather scantily attended. When this was over, the Ladies of the "School of Cookery" which is just opposite, gave a very handsome lunch to Lady B. Coutts, and several Ladies and gentlemen . . . After this, the Baroness was taken to a Flower show held in the Yorkshire Art Exhibition in the Cloth Hall. I asked her to go to the College of Science, and she seemed willing to have done so; but she was persuaded that she had not time.

VISITS AND EXCURSIONS

1854. 31 July. The Leeds Bradford and Halifax Railway was opened. Mr Heaton was a director, and I had some shares in it. Mr Akroyd of Halifax invited the Directors and others interested

[19] Leeds United Institution for the Blind and Deaf and Dumb, Albion Street. Established 1866. Architect, Edward Birchall.

in the line, to a trip on the Railway to his country residence, Bankfield, near Halifax, where a handsome collation was provided. At Bradford, where the train stopped, a coke truck and engine ran into our train while it was stationary, and caused a collision by which two or three ladies were slightly injured and contused. Of these, Miss Firth, daughter of Mr Firth of Burley, now Mrs Slingsby of Manchester, received a cut on the eyebrow, and was a good deal shaken. This was the worst injury and my professional aid was demanded. She was taken to Mr Cheesboroughs house at Bradford, there Mr Mead a surgeon sewed it up, and after we had seen her comfortably attended to there, Mr Firth and I and Mr Cheesborough posted on to Halifax, where the rest of the party had gone on by train. Mr Akroyd's beautiful house and grounds were thrown open, and we had a sumptuous collation; after which there were speeches and toasts. Then Fanny and I posted back to Bradford, where we took up Miss Firth and conveyed her home to Leeds, as had been arranged. After this I continued to attend Miss Firth till she had quite recovered from this accident. This was the beginning of our acquaintance with the Firth family.

1861. ... we made a party for a day's excursion to Walton Hall, near Wakefield, to see Mr Waterton's house and curiosities for which I had applied to him for permission; Marian, Ellen and Miss Garlick went with us, in a carriage which we engaged at Young's.[20] We drove through Wakefield, past the old Chapel on the Bridge, through Sandal, to Walton Hall. We stopped at the foot of the bridge which crosses the ornamental water surrounding the house. As we alighted, we saw an exceedingly shabby old man in a tattered pea jacket, and a shocking bad hat, who turned his back on us, but as he was Mr Waterton the proprietor of the house, we went up and spoke to him. He spoke to us very politely, and told us to go to the house where we should be admitted. The hall and the staircase with its landings are a museum of stuffed animals preserved by himself, pictures and other curiosities Whilst we were looking at these, Mr Waterton joined us, having rather smartened himself up, in an old blue dress coat with gilt buttons, whose shirt waists and broad collar looked to be of the fashion of 50 years ago. He pointed to us the principal objects of interest with much politeness. He has made many

[20] Jas. Young, Livery Stables, Cross Fountain Street (White's *Directory*, 1853).

specimens to give expression to his hatred of Protestantism in various malicious but harmless jocularities. Thus he has modeled [*sic*] the face of a black ape into a human form, provided it with a pair of horns, and having thus given to it a fiendish appearance, he has labeled it "Martin Luther Aetatis 37". Near to this is a hideous lizard, whose frightful appearance is artificially heightened, and which he has supplied with some artificial abdominal teats to which two smaller lizards of equally diabolic appearance have their mouths attached, an inscription calls these latter Edward VI and "Bessy" offspring of Henry VIII, taking lunch. Here is also his "Nondescript" which he has engraved in his "Wanderings" and other absurdities. Mr Waterton told us that a week ago he was on the point of death from inflammation of the lungs; but that he had *bled himself* to 26 oz., and in an hour was quite well, and able to go out to look after his carpenter. He spoke of Du Chaillu[21] as a liar and a humbug, and said that no ape could walk on its hind legs as he represented the Gorilla doing. Mr Waterton has provided in his grounds what is called the "Pic Nic Ground", where there are benches and tables under the trees, and a small room with a fire place to boil water to make tea, and other accommodations for parties who may come here by permission, bringing their own provisions for an afternoon, and are charged a 1/- per party for the fire and accommodation provided.

1862. 9 August. Fanny went with Mrs Hepworth Hill, and other ladies engaged in conducting the Mill Street Sewing School for Factory girls,[22] accompanied also by Dr and Mrs Atlay, to Ripon, to conduct about 200 of the girls to spend a day at Studley, and at the Palace, by invitation of the Bishop. The expedition was not entirely satisfactory, for the Bishop having invited the girls to the Palace, had made great but very incomplete preparation for them. He had made no arrangement for their conveyance to or from Studley or the Palace; but he had erected a spacious tent in his grounds, and provided tea and buns for them; and had invited a large party of gentry to see them entertained therewith. But there was small accommodation for them to sit, and no provision whatever for their retirement as occasion might require. When the party reached Ripon, only one small omnibus could be had, in which the ladies might have gone; but some girls

[21] Paul Belloni Du Chaillu, traveller (1835-1903).

[22] An Evening School where mill girls were taught reading and sewing by several ladies (J.D.H.'s *Diary*, 1875).

who were lame and others feeble and the day was hot; so that by the time the girls had walked to Studley and walked through the grounds, many of them were completely done up, and had to be put into the omnibus and sent on to the Palace, with instructions that the omnibus should return as soon as possible to take up some more, Fanny and the other ladies walking meanwhile. When they reached the Palace, the ladies who had accompanied them were not at all recognized, being regarded merely as *teachers;* and it was only by Fanny's requesting Mrs Atlay (who of course took her place as the Vicar's wife) to procure for herself and companions the favour of a room to wash etc, that they were put in charge of the housekeeper, who with supercilious insolence took them up a back staircase to a room where she gave them a basin of water and a towel, and sat down and watched them whilst they performed their toilette, and then accompanied them back by the same way. Afterwards Fanny got admitted into the rooms of the Palace, where there was a handsome collation provided for the invited guests; but this was rather owing to her own position as known to some there, than as intended for the ladies who accompanied the girls. Afterwards she was taken back to Ripon in the carriage of Mr Schofield who was there whom she knew. Altogether there was too much ostentation and too little kind consideration in the management at the Palace.

1874. Wednesday 15 July, was the day selected for the Annual Excursion of the Conversation Club. The fact that it was St Swithin's day, and previously wet weather caused fears for the success of the excursion, which fortunately were not realized, as the day was entirely fine and favourable.

I experienced a serious drawback on my enjoyment in a troublesome toothache, which tormented me most of the day. Miss Fison expected to have accompanied us, but she was suffering from the same cause and staid at home. Helen and I, therefore were the only excursionists from our house. The object of the excursion was well chosen; it was to visit and inspect the works in progress in constructing the Reservoirs in the Valley of the Washbourn for storing water to supply the Town of Leeds. Our party of about 17 went in an omnibus drawn by four horses. We drove to Bramhope, where we left the Otley turnpike road to descend Pool Bank to cross the Wharf and pass through part of Farnley Park, to the Lindley Wood reservoir, which is the lowest of the three it is proposed to construct in the valley of the Washbourn. We alighted near the embankment, now nearly completed,

which stretches across a narrow part of the valley, converting the part above into a reservoir. The trench upon which, (when filled with clay) the embankment rests, had to be excavated to a very great depth before an impervious stratum was reached; all this was then filled with clay, rammed in; and a broad core of clay, (the puddle bank) is continued through the middle of the embankment, to its full height. The sloping sides of the embankment are faced with masonry. Culverts are made through the base of the embankment for the discharge of the water; and at one side is the overflow for the escape of surplus water. Two towers of solid masonry surmount the embankment, which contain sluices for regulating the discharge of the water through the culverts. We walked up the valley, along the borders of what is to become the reservoir, but is now the remains of Farm land, cut up with the operations of the workmen, and with farmhouses and buildings still standing where water to a great depth is shortly to be accumulated. The upper extremity of the reservoir is crossed by a stone bridge, recently constructed; here the omnibus was waiting for the party, reinforced by the addition of two strong dray-horses, borrowed from the Corporation works, with the aid of which we began the ascent of a very steep and rugged road, surmounting the ridge of a lofty hill, from the summit of which we enjoyed a noble and extensive prospect, bounded by the Hambledon Hills, and showing Roseberry Topping faintly in the distance. Our position was almost panoramic, commanding extensive prospects, not merely to the north and east, but in all directions. From this point, we descended again into the valley having Fewston church before us. Nothing could seem more irrational than to take the road up a lofty and steep hill to descend again into the same valley, when the road might be taken along the valley, with no greater distance, and a saving of incalculable fatigue. The land is Mr Fawke's, and we were told that he purposely maintained the laborious, and all but impracticable road for the sake of privacy. We did not go to Fewston, but stopped at the intermediate hamlet of Swinstey, where the second reservoir is to be constructed. This was yet only in a preliminary stage. A village of workmen's huts is here constructed. We saw before us a large, antient stone house, of a picturesque appearance, called Swinstey Hall, now occupied as a farm-house. Here Mr Filleter (who is the engineer of the works for the Corporation, and a member of the Club, and who had made the arrangements for the excursion, and took the lead in

our proceedings,) had obtained permission for our party to encamp for our midday meal, for the purpose of which sundry baskets and hampers filled with provisions, supplied by Powolny the pastry-cook, accompanied our excursion. The house has the appearance of the 16th century; it has a central part, flanked by two projecting gables, in one of which is the entrance. It has wide mullioned windows, with small leaded glass panes. We were kindly received by the inmates, who ushered us into the hall, now used as the ordinary living rom, it has a very wide arched fire place, capacious enough for a seat, or ingle-nook, on each side of the fire, but the space is now bricked up, and furnished only with a common kitchen range. Opposite the fire place is a large mullioned window. A quaint and effective feature in the hall is a small stone staircase of six or eight steps, at the far side of the room, (leading to a sittng room) which is guarded by a balustrade of carved oak of considerable richness, projecting into the area of the hall. The inner room was to serve as our dining room; its walls are wainscotted with oak in good condition. It was apparently not much used, and smelt close and fusty, which was not very agreeable. The large old windows seem to have been made originally, without any opening; and a very small lattice door of recent insertion was quite insufficient. A handsome solid oak table extended nearly the whole length of the room. Some rude benches had been extemporised for our use, in lieu of chairs, of which there was only one large oaken seat at the head of the table. The ceiling of this room consisted of solid oak beams, on which were laid modern deal boards forming the floor of the room overhead, but not underdrawn so that the footsteps of the ladies who had gone into the upper room for their toilette, before dinner, saluted us with a noisy creaking as the gentlemen awaited their reappearance in the room below. The staircase to the upper stories was rude, it formed a sort of square tower of masonry, rising upwards in the middle part of the house, but quite inconspicuous; in this, the stairs ascended in short flights round a central pier of masonry. Three plain bedrooms are over the hall one is approachable through the other. Another story above these is partly in the roof, which is not underdrawn, the slates being very exposed; so that the rooms felt oppressively hot, as they would be unbearably cold in winter; but they seemed to be quite unoccupied. The oak roof is solid and of good workmanship, forming arches springing from the side walls, at intervals like the open timber roof of a hall, or church. Whilst we inspected the house and performed our

ablutions in the bed room upon the ladies returning, our repast was being unpacked and set out upon the table. We had an ample dinner enlivened by a few bottles of champagne.

After doing ample justice to our good fare, when we should have addressed ourselves to our return, the ladies wandered out into the fields and could not be gathered together for some time, which considerably delayed our departure beyond the appointed time. Then some of the company determined to walk along the valley and join the omnibus after it had made the ascent of the steep hill over which we had again to drive on our return. Mr Ford, who is very feeble and infirm declared his intention to accompany the pedestrians in their walk of three miles. Thinking that the exertion would be too much for him, and fearing that his slow progress would delay the whole party already later than had been intended, Mr Ford would not however, be persuaded to ride; so that the two parties of walkers and drivers parted. We in the omnibus reached the place of meeting a little before eight; before the van of the walking party made its appearance. Other stragglers soon followed; and last Mr Ford, supported by Mr Jowett, who had kindly taken charge of him through out his adventure, came in sight, and slowly drew near, after some considerable anxiety had been aroused in the minds of his daughters and other waiters. Our driver determined to go round by Otley to avoid the very steep ascent of Pool Bank. The result of all our hindrances was that we reached Leeds after 11 o'clock, instead of at eight; according to the programme. The evening was fine and mild, but not very clear; nevertheless we had a good view of the Comet, at that time being only of a few degrees.

1875. Friday 2 April. In the afternoon Fanny and I went to dine at Mr Titus Salt's, of Milner Field, near Saltaire, and to stay the night there. The carriage met us at the Shipley station and we drove through Saltaire, and then for about a mile through their own grounds, to the house, Milner Field, a gorgeous mansion within, large, massive and imposing without, in the early style of domestic gothic which is at this time favoured by what may be called the Pre-Raphaelite school of art. The name of the architect is Harris, of London. Mrs Titus Salt is Edward Crossley's sister; she is a pretty, elegant woman, having three children, the eldest about 11 years old, the youngest a baby. We enter to a large Hall, carpeted with thick Turkey carpets, which also cover the corridors and prevail generally. There is an immense, massive stone structure forming the fire-place, and there is a large organ in a carved oak

case. There is stained glass in the windows, illustrative of some history, or legend, I think. After being shown to our bed-room, the walls of which are wainscotted with oak, we sat in the library till dinner-time. This room has an alabaster fire-place which forms a most prominent feature, being constructed of Alabaster, carved and rising in stories to the ceiling, and decorated with tiles about the grate. There are oak book-cases, carved and further decorated with paintings on gilt grounds. A Mr Miall, (brother of the Leeds curator) and his wife, and a Mr and Mrs Martin from Manchester, were the other guests. The dining-room had some beautiful mural painting over the fire place, also on a gilt ground, by some eminent London artist. After dinner, we sat in the drawing room which has also a large, carved alabaster chimney-piece rising to the height of the room, more elaborate than that in the Library. Numerous costly ornaments in china, carving, painting etc. decorate the room. During the evening Mr Salt took us to see his work-room, where he has a very complete lathe worked by a water-engine which he can start at any minute; furnished with an elaborate set of eccentric and other chucks; and a great variety of fine tools. From there we were taken to the billiard-room, where the three gentlemen established themselves for a game, with a supply of pipes and cigars. As this was not in my way, I came away with Fanny; and we retired to bed in good time.

Saturday 3 April. Fanny had her breakfast in bed. I breakfasted with the company about nine o'clock, after which Fanny joined us; and we went with Mr Titus Salt to see his conservatories. These are at a considerable distance from the house, so that rather more walking was required than quite suited Fanny. The grounds at present are rather bare-looking, having no large trees. The conservatories are most extensive and complete, like everything else about the establishment. We went through successions of vineries, pine-houses, stoves, orchard houses etc. Many gardeners at work throughout. When we returned, the carriage was at the door to take us to the station for our return to Leeds. We said good bye, and commenced our journey, and in due time we comfortably reached our small and simple looking residence.

BUSLINGTHORPE. ST MICHAEL'S CHURCH

1871. April/May. At this time a vacancy occurred in the living of Buslingthorpe by the death of Mr Woollam,[23] the late very

[23] Rev. Wm. Woollam, d. 19 April 1871, aged 44. Vicar of St Michael's, Buslingthorpe.

unsatisfactory incumbent. The first duty of the Trustees of the patronage was to fill up a vacancy existing in their own body by the death of Mr John Cooper. At a meeting held for this purpose we elected Frank Tetley. We had many candidates for the living; amongst whom ultimately appeared Mr Theed,[24] the Vicar of Weston, and husband to John William's sister Emily. Knowing his worth, I at once undertook to support him, did he really wish to have the appointment, though I did not consider it exactly what would suit him, or equal to his deserts. Mr Hey and Mr Dibb, 2 other trustees, hesitated to support him, because of their relationship, lest they should be charged with nepotism; Mr Armitage had a favourite candidate of his own; and F. Tetley seemed somewhat neutral. On Wedneday 3 May the Trustees met, and certainly in consequence of my representation, Mr Theed was elected.

1871. Saturday 13 May. Today Fanny, May and I went to Weston, near Ilkley, to spend the Sunday with Mr and Mrs Theed, previously to their leaving that pretty country to come to their new living of Buslingthorpe . . . We were very hospitably received, and entertained with a handsome dinner . . . Sunday morning was dull and cold, but the country was beautifully green in the foliage of early spring. We walked to Church where Mr Theed performed the service. When it was over, whilst I was looking at the church, (which, though originally old, is sufficiently plain and uninteresting,) two men accosted me, who proved to be the churchwarden's of Buslingthorpe, who had come from Leeds to see and hear their new parson and form their opinion of him. They seemed to suppose that I had come for the same object, which I assured them was not the case, as I had known Mr Theed long, and was bound to know him and to have formed my judgement of him before taking part in his election. They were inclined to be important and patronizing as to Mr Theed; they should be glad to tell him how to act, and if he would take their advice, no doubt he would get on very well. I did not much encourage this tone; but told them they must not think of their new Vicar as a man without experience; that he had both experience and judgement to guide him, though they would find him very willing to benefit where he could by advice and information of those with whom he would be associated; and I was sure it would be no fault of his if he did not

[24] Rev. Thomas Maylin Theed, bapt. 24 January 1829, d. 20 October 1904. Vicar of Weston 1861-71. Vicar of Buslingthorpe 1871-80.

get on well with his new charge, as I quite expected that he would. Mr Theed politely asked them to come to the Vicarage to dinner, but they declined, wishing to get back as they said. We did not accompany Mr and Mrs Theed to the afternoon service at the church; but in the evening, he drove us to a distant hamlet in his parish, where he held a third service in the form of a cottage lecture. The road was steep and rough, across the moors for about three miles. When we reached the highest point, we had a very fine view, across two valleys, one on each side of the ridge on which we stood, of the Wharfe, and its tributary the Washbourne. The service in a farm house was very simple and impressive, the room being crowded with 30 or 40 people . . .

ELECTIONS

1865. July, . . . a general Election took place, and Lord Amberly [John, Viscount Amberley] (son of Lord Russell) was brought forward as candidate in conjunction with Ed. Baines, and in opposition to Beecroft; the two liberals came forward as supporters of Baines' £6 Franchise scheme; a proposal, so bad in itself, and so inopportune, at a time when rents were rising and wages proportionally on the increase, (so that all well conducted operatives might secure for themselves the franchise upon the present £10 rental law) that I was strongly opposed to it, especially as operatives of all classes were continually striking for higher wages, and using force and intimidation to obtain their object, and drunkeness, gambling and dissipation, (instead of proper economy) too generally prevailed; so that what should have been applied to improve their houses, and the comforts of their families, and towards savings to provide against illness and old age, was all spent upon self indulgence. On these grounds, I was much opposed to the £6 Franchise, and positively refused any support to Lord Amberly, and should have plumped for Beecroft had that been necessary; but as it turned out, Beecroft was at the head of the poll by a large majority, (many of Baines' ordinary supporters, especially amongst employers of labour, being much disgusted with his £6 Franchise scheme); I therefore, towards the close of the poll, when the result was certain, voted for Beecroft and Baines, for the latter only on the ground of long standing acquaintanceship with the family. The Poll-book which was shortly afterwards published by the Intelligencer office, falsely represented me as having plumped for Beecroft, which, of course was generally accepted as the fact;

so that my personal object of not disobliging the Baines' family very much failed of its accomplishment.

1868. Monday 16 October was the Nomination day for the general election; Five candidates offered, Baines, Carter, Wheelhouse, Fairbairn, and Admiral Duncombe. By the recent Reform Bill we have now three members for the representation of the Borough. Baines, Carter and Wheelhouse were nominated. The Poll was on the following day; I plumped for Fairbairn. The same three were elected as had been nominated. The great question was the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; The two blues, Wheelhouse and Duncombe were of course, opposed to this; the three others were all in favour of it. Carter of course is an ultra-radical and democrat, and Baines, for mere expediency and subserviency to popular clamour, allied himself with him, though hitherto both personally and politically at enmity. I could not vote with Carter nor his companion, though approving of the justice of terminating the domination of a church professed by only 1/7 of the population of Ireland. I could not vote for the Tories who wished to maintain the Irish church, and still more could I not vote for them as supporters of Disraeli in his reform bill, giving household suffrage in flagrant opposition to all declarations of the party when out of office, when they had strenuously opposed a much more limited extension of the franchise. I therefore plumped for Fairbairn, a moderate Whig.

1874. On Thursday 5 February the poll took place for Leeds; there were five candidates, two Conservatives, Wheelhouse and Tennant, Baines a Liberal, and two radicals, Carter and Dr Lees. The two conservatives and Carter were elected; Baines was thrown out, and Lees was far behind; had Dr Lees not stood, it is probable, that Baines might have beaten Tennant. On this occasion, for the first time, I voted for the two conservatives, not as much admiring them, but because I could not vote for the others; Carter and Lees were entirely out of the question, and Mr Baines had so weakly pandered to radicalism, to get votes, that it was also impossible for me to vote for him, which I regretted.

1874. On Friday 13 February I voted for Denison and Fielding.[25] the two conservative candidates for the Eastern division of the West Riding; I also allowed my name to appear on their committee, tho' I had never before taken so active a part in politics as to place my name on a committee. But, the two questions before

[25] C. B. Denison and Joshua Fielden.

the people are, at present, the maintainance, or disestablishment of the Church of England, and the maintainance of the Elementary Education Act in its present form; I am, with the Conservatives on both these questions who oppose change in these matters; tho' I by no means consider myself with the conservative party. Both the conservatives were elected; and the result of the election generally was strongly in favour of the conservative party.

1874. On Tuesday 10 February, I voted for Stanhope and Starkey. the two conservative candidates for the Southern Division of the West Riding.

EDUCATION

1865. 12 October. Miss Davies — sister of Llewellyn Davies, the somewhat eminent clergyman of the broad-church school, came to visit Fanny, by invitation, on the way from the Social Science Congress at Sheffield. Miss Davies had become known to Fanny as the Secretary to the movement for promoting University "Middle Class" examinations for females, having been introduced to Fanny, in connection with this object, by Mr Potts of Cambridge. and a good deal of correspondence had passed between them, and F. had done something to help Miss Davies in making her object known in Leeds. Fanny in inviting Miss Davies, had asked her likewise, to bring with her any lady who might be accompanying her. Somewhat to our surprise, she brought with her Miss Garrett,[26] a lady who has recently been rather notable as being the first female who has passed the examination of the Apothecaries' Co, and obtained their license with the intention of practising, after the fashion which seems to be gaining ground in America. Miss G. is a rather pleasing looking lady of from 25-30 years of age, with a large quantity of reddish-yellow hair. There is nothing forward or unfeminine about her appearance or manners. The morning after their arrival, I took our visitors round the town, and especially to the Medical School, where I had to object to Miss G.'s going into the dissecting room, as the students were at work there.

1866. On Saturday 8 September Fanny had a large party of Governesses of Young Ladies, assembled at Claremont, to meet Mr Fitch of the Royal Commission for School enquiry, and Miss Davies . . . to advocate and discuss the subject of University Middle Class Examinations for Girls. This was arranged by the

[26] Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (1836-1917), the first woman to qualify as a doctor in England.

wish of Miss Davies, who wrote to Fanny about it, and herself came to us the day before, for the sake of being present. We had about 30 ladies present, for whom Fanny provided a handsome lunch in the first place, after which they all adjourned to the Drawing Room, where I made a short speech in the first place, opening the subject, and introducing Mr Fitch and Miss Davies, after which Mr Fitch spoke at some length, and after that Miss Davies; and various ladies then made remarks and inquiries; after which the company broke up, all "much Gratified" but variously impressed as to the subject advocated.

1869. On 5 July, the Rev'd Mr Prescott, from Cambridge, came to Leeds to preside over the University Examination of Women, for certificates of proficiency, and he staid at Claremont while in Leeds. He was our guest from Monday to Saturday.

1869. 13 December. Mr Sydney Walton came to stay at Claremont during the time of the Cambridge Local Examination, he being the examiner on this occasion. May went in to this examination, for which she had been preparing for some months. I may anticipate so far as to say that she passed and obtained her certificate, being specially approved in French.

1874. Friday 23 January. Loo went to Boarding School for the first time, to Miss Leighton's of Hornsey near London, who is a connection of the Crossley's of Halifax. Mabel Greenhow and two Miss Coopers of Roundhay also went to the same school; so that she was not without acquaintances.

1874. May. A short walk in a pleasant sub-urban country, on a road bordered by detached villas, brought us to "Birklands," the name of Miss Leighton's house. We saw Miss Leighton and Loo . . . We asked permission for Loo and her friend Mabel Greenhow (Mrs F. Lupton's niece) to go with us to spend the afternoon at the Royal Academy . . .

1877. On Monday 22 January Loo, having finished her schooling, became an *assistant teacher* in the Girls' High School, by Fanny's desire, who thought this would be a useful occupation and prevent her spending her time in desultory indifferent occupations. It is so contrary to custom, for young ladies, not necessarily dependent on their own exertions, to undertake any kind of remunerative employment, that this innovation occasioned considerable comment, and I had some doubt of its expediency. But I consented to it as an experiment. Fanny took Loo to the School this morning.

accompanied by Arthur and Berry, with great zeal. Loo was to enter on her new duties as a teacher; and Fanny and the boys were to admit pupils and take fees.

1878. December. Loo discontinued her teaching at the Girls' High School, at the end of the half-year; much to her dissatisfaction. She had been most diligent and conscientious in her work, always punctual, and allowing no attraction to take her away from it. I did not think it consistent with our position, nor to our advantage, that she should continue to give the whole of her time to drudgery, for a small pittance (£40 a year, subject to some increase, if she retained her position) depriving herself of all recreation and the customary pursuits of a young lady living at home. Loo, however, liked her position in the school, partly because she had contracted a romantic affection for Miss Kennedy, the head mistress, and was much displeased with my decision that she should leave it . . . On the occasion of Loo's leaving the school, the girls subscribed to present her a handsome quarto photographic album, with lock and key; which was offered to her in the presence of the whole school, before breaking up; much to her surprize. She had also presents of Books from individual girls.

FAMILY AFFAIRS

1866. On Saturday 9 June, Mr Hey was telegraphed for to Ripon, to see his sister Mrs Atkinson[27] who was suddenly seized with illness. He returned in the evening having found her dead on his arrival. She had been, with her daughter Mary, in a carriage, to some nursery gardens, about two miles from home; while there, she complained of one side feeling numb, and her countenance changed, and she lost the power of distinct articulation, but continued conscious, and made no complaint of pain. She was able to give some help and directions as to getting her put to bed; but gradually became oppressed and finally unconscious. Dr Paley was sent for who applied leeches to her head, and telegraphed for Mr Hey[28] . . . Mrs Atkinson's funeral took place on Friday 14 June. Her body had been brought to Jno. Wm's. house[29] previously. According to the new views it was a walking funeral; the coffin was borne on men's shoulders, covered with a magnificent pall made of purple cloth, embroidered with yellow and white silk etc.

[27] Mary Atkinson, née Hey (b. 1798). relict of John Atkinson, solicitor.
[28] William Hey, of Gledhow, surgeon, Leeds General Infirmary.
[29] John William Atkinson, solicitor, son of John Atkinson, above.

which Marian,[30] Fanny and others had been working desperately to get completed in time. It was also festooned with wreaths of natural roses, and surmounted with a large garland.

1867. On Wednesday 7 August Mary Atkinson was married to the Rev'd Chas. Cope, the son of the Artist, and Royal Academician. He is quite a young man, six years younger than Mary; but all parties seem pleased with the match. The marriage was at St George's; and the wedding breakfast was at Jno. William's. The bridegroom took up his abode at our house, a day or two before the day; and a large party, some 40 or 50, spent the middle of the day at Claremont, where they entertained themselves with games on the lawn, and a collation of Wines, Ices, Cold Meats and Fruits.

1875. On Tuesday 1 June Aldam Heaton and his wife and daughters came to Claremont in anticipation of the business of Alice Atkinson's marriage to Charley Tetley.

Wednesday was a day almost entirely taken up with this affair. At 11 o'clock, our own party of four, and the four Aldam Heatons went to St John's church in our own carriage and one of Young's carriages. There we had to stand in the church yard for a considerable time, till the ordinary morning service was concluded; fortunately the day was fine, otherwise we, and a considerable crowd of others similarly situated, would have been very badly off. Then we were admitted to the church and took our seats. But there was another long delay before the clergymen and quire approached singing a "processional hymn". The Rev'ds S. Hey and Fred Atkinson performed the service; after which we had again a long delay while the bridal party retired to the vestry preceded by a "recessional hymn". Then there was a very long delay — nearly half an hour, (which was inexplicable) before they came out of the vestry and all the parties went to their carriages. There was a good deal of crowding and confusion; but at length we got off, and all drove to Mr Tetley's (the bridegroom's father) at Fox Hill, Adel, where the breakfast was given instead of at John William's, the reason being that his neighbour and partner in business had died so recently — viz. Mr Dibb . . .

In the evening there was a "Meat Tea" at John Wm's; Fanny did not go to this, nor did I stay long.

1876. 5 July. Monday and Tuesday were days of great bustle and distraction, in preparation for May's wedding, on Wednesday. During these two days we had many arrivals, Maria Deakin,

[30] Wife of John William Atkinson.

Berry, Mr and Mrs Carr, Mr and Mrs Rucker and a maid; Miss Rucker, (the aunt), Edward and Reginald Rucker (the two brothers), and a friend, Mr Boddington, who was also to act as a groomsman, were quartered at A. Rucker's Lodgings in Cromer Terrace. Of course all the others whom I have named could not be lodged at Claremont; Mrs Mold, Berry and Loo, went to sleep at Mrs Dobson's, Mrs Mold's sister; Miss Rucker and Mabel Benham were taken in at Dr James Braithwaites. and Ellen took Mr and Mrs Roberts. Rev'd Mr Dundas (who was to take part in performing the marriage service,) and his wife, were staying at an hotel. Of course there was a great amount of arrangement and preparation, cooking, millinery etc., going on everywhere. The marriage settlement of £12,000, £6,000 by each father, was duly executed.

Wednesday, 5 July, was the wedding day; there was a large gathering at breakfast, in the Octagon. Mother and perhaps some others seemed somewhat grave and anxious; May was cheerful and unembarassed; perhaps the most cheerful of the party. The morning was showery, and Fanny, considering the injury that the fine dresses might suffer from wet, sent off in haste to order the erection of an awning from the church-yard gates to the door of the church, which proved to be unnecessary, as the rain ceased, and a gleam of sunshine appeared before the party left the house.

There were seven carriages, besides our own, lent to us by friends — H. Nelson, F. Lupton, Ed. Baines, Barran, Tetley, Mrs Connor, Kitson. Fanny and I and May went in our own, which had been newly done up, and relined, equal to new for the occasion. Four Policemen were engaged to maintain order and keep off the crowd at the church gates. The church seemed quite well filled by friends and spectators, both below and in the galleries. Mr. Adams and Rev'd Mr Dundas, a friend of Rucker's, performed the service — Dr Atlay, the Bishop of Hereford, had some time ago, offered to marry May; and it had been arranged that he should do so, some time ago, where another previous day had been fixed for the marriage; but for some reason, A. Rucker had the day postponed, and then the Bishop found he could not come, having some other engagement, at which I was disappointed. Dr Spark performed a piece on the organ which he had composed for the occasion.

The dining room was arranged with a double row of tables for 50 guests; owing to some disappointments we had only about 45. Mr Adams proposed the health of the bride and bridegroom, to which A. Rucker replied in a neat speech. Mr Baines proposed

Fanny's and my health to which I replied, proposing the health of Mr and Mrs Rucker, to which Mr. Rucker replied in a rather rambling manner. Arthur, I think, proposed the bridesmaids.

A little before 4, Rucker[31] and May set off in our carriage to the Railway Station. They were to go to Leicester that night; the following night they spent at Norwich; and thence they went to Cromer where they staid some time; then they spent the rest of their honeymoon in Switzerland and Paris. Rucker, senior, left us to return to business. Our company began to disperse after 4 o'clock. When they left us we began the preparations for the evening entertainment, to which every one we knew was invited; about 250 were invited, and 150 came to us. Fortunately the weather was fair in the afternoon, though not very bright. There were all May's wedding presents set out on view, in the day nursery; about 150 in number; many of them costly and beautiful; plate, china, personal ornaments, chairs, tables, books, needle-work, etc. etc. The company also strolled in the garden, played at croquet and lawn tennis, or sat in the drawing room. The company arrived about 6 o'clock. Supper began at 8. Tables were spread both in the dining room and the octagon; and successive parties sat down till all were supplied. About 7 dozens of champagne and other wines were consumed; but there was no excess, and everything was quite orderly. The company began to depart at 10. This was a fatiguing day for Fanny and myself. Fanny retired to bed as soon as she could after the departure of our visitors, it was 1 o'clock before I could see the house cleared and locked up and myself set at liberty.

Most of our company spent the next day at Ilkley. Mrs F. Lupton had invited everyone to a Garden party in the afternoon; but the death of her relative, Miss Harriet Martineau a few days before, obliged her to withdraw her invitation.

1862. Monday 17 February. We had the Reception given by the Conversation Club at our house. In preparation for this occasion we were very busy, for some days previously, and especially so on the day when it took place. The dining-room table, at its full length, was covered with glass show-cases, which we had borrowed for the occasion, in which were exhibited our best curiosities and articles of virtu. Fanny's piece of needlework, St Ann teaching the Virgin Mary — which had been commenced for Exhibition in the International Exhibition, was shown in this room. The Drawing

[31] Arthur Rucker, first Professor of mathematics at the Yorkshire College.

room was cleared to receive the Company; some of Ellen's pictures by Rossetti were exhibited here. The Hall was hung with Architectural drawings of buildings in progress in Leeds and the neighbourhood. In the Library illustrated books were laid out on the tables. The Octagon was reserved for Microscopes, for illuminating which I had several jets of gas brought down upon the table. The Kitchen was carpeted, and curtains hung to the window, that it might be used as a tea-room. On the stair case walls were exhibited coloured lithographs mounted on Card boards. My dressing room contained photographs, and a large collection of photographs burnt into glass, like enamel by a new process. The Green room had the bed and other furniture removed; and it was used for exhibiting philosophical apparatus, stereoscopes. carvings, architectural objects, and especially, (what was now most popular) a large magic lantern, illuminated by the Oxy Calcium light, by which were exhibited a series of transparent photographs upon a large screen. During the evening, glees were sung in the hall by some members of the musical soirée, for which purpose the school-room piano was brought down stairs into the hall. Our own bed-room and the red-room were used as ladies' rooms, and the day nursery was the gentlemen's room. We had a large staff of assistants of various kinds; two policemen were on duty outside, to keep the carriage road clear, carriages drove in at the front gates, and out through the stable yard, by the back gates, to prevent collisions; and we had additional lights (gas and otherwise) temporarily provided, both within and without the house. Everything went off well; about 250 visitors came during the course of the evening, including most of the principal families of Leeds. I should add that the Hall and Drawing-room were hung with festoons of evergreens and artificial flowers; the bay-window of the Drawing-room was filled with green-house plants in flower, (lent to us by Mr Smith of Gledhow) in the centre of which we placed our statue of Undine; and we had likewise several fir-trees in corners of the Hall, and outside the house, which had been at the recent Bachelors' Ball at the Town Hall. For some days afterwards we were very busy in putting away, and restoring the house to its customary order.

1864. July, Fanny in cooperation with her sister, had been for many years, a great maker of elegant fancy hand-screens, decorated with beetles' wings, artificial flowers, pearls etc. At this time, there was a Bazaar in Kensington, for the Female School of Art, at which the Prince and Princess of Wales were expected to be

present. Lady Trevelyan, Ellen's friend, was interested in this Bazaar, and Ellen wished Fanny to send some of her work to it. It occurred to Fanny that a pair of her screens, made of red and white silk (the Danish colours) being an entirely original kind of work, might take the fancy of the Prince and Princess; and that it would be some little distinction if they would become purchasers of some of her work. So a pair of her best screens was sent to the Bazaar, and Lady Trevelyan promised to do her best to draw the attention of the Princess to them. Unfortunately, the Princess passed hastily through the Bazaar, and did not notice the screens at all; and the screens were then not sold. But another Bazaar was held in London, a few days afterwards, for the Earlswood Idiot Asylum, in which Mrs Charles Reed, (sister of our member Mr Baines) was interested, — her father-in-law, the late Dr Andrew Reed having been one of the founders of the Institution. She asked to be allowed to have the unsold screens for her Bazaar. The Prince and Princess were at this Bazaar also. Mrs Ed. Baines was at Mrs Reeds' stall, and as the Prince passed, she held up the screens to him; he looked at them, and said, "this is a new kind of work, I will take these". So ultimately, the screens were disposed of according to Fanny's wish. Fanny was much gratified; she would not have liked to have been disappointed in what she had attempted; and it is some distinction for her that her work should have been taken by the Prince, and it must serve as a recommendation of her work to other purchasers.

THE LEEDS INVALID KITCHEN

An anonymous letter was inserted in the Leeds newspapers, making unfavourable, and unjust reflexions upon the management of the Leeds Invalid Soup Kitchen. Fanny, having seen this, inserted an able justification of the management, which was so much approved that three anonymous contributions of £5 each, to the funds of the Society were sent to her as an expression of approval. The following correspondence is from the *Leeds Mercury*:

To the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury*.

Gentlemen, I regret very much to see in your paper of to-day an attack on the Invalid Kitchen from an anonymous correspondent, who evidently has a complete misunderstanding of the nature of the charity, and apparently, an intention to injure its operations. It was commenced ten years ago, and has always been carried on to relieve the *sick* poor, and not merely as an assistance to the indigent. At the present time the soup and pudding, hot meat, and beef tea supplied are all the best quality, prepared especially

as diet for invalids, and not as dinners for the starving. Everyone knows the extra cost of this species of provision; Australian mutton would be quite unsuitable for the purpose. The meat and other articles of food are bought on the most favourable terms by contract, and the prime cost of the portions of food for which the subscriber pays 8d. is rather more than 5d. to the committee; about 3d. being the cost of cooking and attendance. This last item of expenditure can only be reduced by an extension of the society's operations, which is much to be desired.

I am, yours faithfully,

Fanny Heaton, President of the Society.

Claremont, 23 December 1869.

Leeds Mercury. 23 December 1869.

To the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury*.

Gentlemen, How to relieve the distressed poor is a question which is attracting considerable attention at this season of the year. An invalid kitchen has been already instituted in Oxford Terrace to effect this object; but on inquiring into the working of this charity, I find that at the cost of 8d. the applicant is only furnished with a quart of soup and a basin of boiled rice. This appears to me extravagently dear, especially when I read a letter in the *Times* of Friday last, the following statement: 'Three tins of Australian mutton, costing 10s. 6d., boiled in a copper with potatoes, turnips and carrots, and thickened with pea flour, rice, or pearl barley, make a capital Irish stew, sufficient for 120 dinners.' L.S.

To the Editors of the *Leeds Mercury*.

Gentlemen, I shall be much obliged if you will allow me to make your paper the medium for acknowledging the very handsome anonymous gift of £15, being £5 each from three gentlemen, for the Invalid Kitchen, which they are so kind as to have sent in consequence of reading the letter you inserted for me in last Friday's paper relative to the Kitchen.

I remain, faithfully yours,

Fanny Heaton, President of the Society.

Claremont, 29 December 1869.

Leeds Mercury. 21 October 1869.

Leeds Invalid Kitchen. A meeting (very scantily attended) of the friends of this charity was held in the Church Institute yesterday, the Rev James H. McCheane in the chair. It appeared from the report of the Hon. Secretary, Mrs Rogers, that the institution would, in a few weeks, be in debt to the amount of £20; and that the number of subscribers had of late greatly diminished. The charity had also sustained a serious loss by the removal from Leeds of Mrs Mortimer Young — a lady whose exertions on behalf of the charity for many years past had been untiring. The meeting having listened with great interest to some remarks from Mrs Heaton with reference to the working of a similar

institution at Scarbro', where the kitchen was not merely an invalid but an industrial kitchen, supplying meat dinners as well as soup, etc., either free or at a nominal cost, to the poor recipients, it was resolved, on the motion of the Rev F. J. Wood, seconded by the Rev F. Kitchin, that the St Peter's Square branch of the Leeds institution be given up. In passing this resolution the meeting was influenced by the consideration that there is now in operation at the Parish Church Schools an industrial kitchen, supplying meat dinners, soup, etc., at a cost, to the subscriber, of fivepence a ticket, and of one penny to the recipient. A sub-committee was then formed, consisting of Mrs Heaton, Miss Jennins, Mrs Rogers, and Mrs Claude Wheelhouse, to confer with the clergy and other residents at the West-end of the town as to the desirableness of continuing the (now) remaining branch of the institution, hitherto in operation at Oxford terrace. The meeting separated, after resolving that it be the duty of the Executive Committee of the whole (original) institution to use every endeavour for the payment of the existing debt, common to the St Peter's Square and the Oxford terrace kitchens. For this purpose the sum of £7 1s. was subscribed at once in the room.

1867. Saturday 23 November was my 50th birthday. When a man has lived 50 years, he begins to feel that he is growing old, both from his age, and from his own feelings. For the last two or three years, I have been conscious of the commencement of those failings, which must now increase from year to year, as old age advances. Slower movements, and want of bodily energy, failing sight, less quickness of hearing, less capability of enjoyment. The *retrospect* of my existence shows me how much I have been favoured, and what cause for thankfulness.

From my early position and prospects to my present circumstances there has been a great advance. When I compare our mode of living in our childhood with our present establishment, when I compare the class of our acquaintance then, and the circle among whom we moved, with my present position in the town; when I think of the very few educational, or other advantages, which the somewhat narrow views of my father afforded me, almost up to the age of manhood, I see much cause for thankfulness, though I have entirely failed in my wish to establish myself in a good professional practice. Why this should have been, I scarcely know, no doubt, the blame must lie with myself in a considerable measure; though I have never shown any want

of willingness to work, and few, I believe, have done more unremunerative professional work, yet I have never secured any amount of practice of a valuable kind, and to be relied upon as a source of income. I suppose my unavoidably reserved and shy manners and disposition have had much to do with it. And a general impression on the part of the public, which comes to my knowledge, from various sources, from time to time, (but which it is difficult for me to take a public mode of contradiction) though I feel sure it must have been intentionally, and somewhat maliciously propagated by some people, that I dont want patients, or that I have retired from practice, has, I know been much to my disadvantage. But passing by this, how much have I to be thankful for, in my present circumstances; tho' my professional earnings are small, I have a comfortable independence from realised capital, the amount of which has, I consider been about doubled by my own management, since left to me by my father; though not calculated to take a leading position, I think I have the general respect of my townsmen and acquaintances; I have the very best of wives; and nice children, all of whom I think are of fair promise. And although I have many anxieties and vexations and disappointments from time to time, they are indeed slight, hitherto, [compared] with the trials of many others, and are not more than I have a right to accept as almost necessary conditions of my circumstances and means.

EXTRACTS FROM DR HEATON'S DIARIES

Part II

ELLEN HEATON

Ellen Heaton was born at No. 7 Briggate, her father's Bookshop on Monday 18 November, 1816, just a year before the birth of her brother. They seem to have had a friendly relationship, but there can be little room for doubt that Ellen was to prove a source of irritation to her brother in later life. Ellen was a clever child, and had what was a reasonable education for a young lady of her station in a Victorian provincial town. When she was 6 years

old, the two children were sent to a day school kept by Mr Langdon, a Baptist minister in Infirmary Street. Later, we are not told exactly when or for how long she was removed to a school kept by the Misses Plint[32] and was there in 1827. Finally she was sent to a Boarding school in Mirfield kept by the Misses Waltham *to be finished*. Dr Heaton is not very clear about dates at this time, and it must be remembered that the first volume of the Journal covers 40 years; writing in 1859 he was relying on memory for much of it.

In 1843, her father made a settlement for her benefit, to which she was a party, and which was signed by her. This would be about the time that he purchased 2 East Parade for his son, then recently qualified as a doctor at University College, London. After the death of her father in 1852, she lived alone in the house 31 Park Square, her mother having died in 1841. Dr Heaton was his sister's trustee, and on her behalf he administered her property, which consisted of houses in Lyddon Terrace, Springfield Mount, Lifton Place, Hyde Terrace and Albert Villas in Clarendon Road. In 1859 he purchased three houses in Woodhouse Square, Nos. 5, 6, and 7 as an investment for her, and she lived in No. 6 until her death.

Being of independent means and without family commitments she was able to travel widely on the continent, living for many months at a time in London and Rome. In 1867 she visited Russia and Poland, where she stayed in Moscow, St Petersburg and Warsaw. She frequently attended meetings of the British Association, and over the years must have visited most parts of the British Isles.

If Dr Heaton is to be believed, she had aspirations towards becoming a poet, and he is very scathing about her artistic abilities and her love of pre-eminence. Whatever her merit in the poetical field, she moved in artistic circles, and numbered John Ruskin,[33] D. G. Rossetti and Elizabeth Barrett Browning among her correspondents. Dr Heaton gives the impression that his sister inflicted herself upon celebrities, and this was certainly the case with Elizabeth Barrett Browning, as the following correspondence shows

[32] In Hanover Street (Baines and Newsome, *Leeds Directory*, 1834).

[33] Virginia Surtees, forthcoming book, editing letters from John Ruskin to Miss Ellen Heaton, and others.

THE LETTERS OF ROBERT BROWNING and ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING, edited by R. B. Browning. Smith Elder & Co. 1899.

E.B.B. to R.B. Post-mark, 6 May 1846.

'In the midst of writing which, comes the Leeds Miss Heaton, who used to send me those long confidential letters *à faire frémir*, and beg me to call her "Ellen", and as this is the second time that she has sent up her card, in an accidental visit to London, I thought I would be good-natured for once, and see her. An intelligent woman, with large black eyes and a pleasant voice, and young ... manners provincial enough, for the rest, and talking as if the world were equally divided between the "Congregationalists" and the "Churchpeople". She assured me that "Dr Vaughan was very much annoyed" at the article on my poems which "crept" into his *Review*,[34] and that it was fully intended to recant at length on the first convenient opportunity. "And really," she said, "it seems to me that you have as many admirers among churchmen as among dissenters!" There's glory — and I kept my countenance. *Lost* it though, five minutes afterwards, when she observed pathetically, that a "friend of hers who had known Mr Browning *quite intimately*, had told her he was an infidel ... more's the pity, when he has such a genius". I desired the particular information of your intimate friend, a little more warmly perhaps than was necessary,... but what could be expected of me, I wonder?'

E.B.B. to R.B. Post-mark, 7 May 1846.

'. . . Miss Heaton, . . . the friend of your intimate friend, . . . told me yesterday that the poetess proper of the city of Leeds was "*Mrs A.*". "Mrs A.?" said I with an enquiring innocence. "Oh," she went on (divining sarcasms in every breath I drew) ... "oh,! I dare say, *you* wouldn't admit her to be a real poetess. But as she lives in Leeds and writes verses, we call her our poetess! and then, really, Mrs A. is a charming woman. She was a Miss Roberts ... and her "Spirit of the Woods", and the "Flowers" has been admired, I assure you. "Well, in a moment I seemed to remember something, — because only a few months since, surely I had a letter from somebody who once was a spirit of the Woods or ghost of the Flowers. Still, I could not make out Mrs A... ! "Certainly," I confessed modestly, "I never did hear of a Mrs A. . . . and yet, and yet" . . . A most glorious confusion I was in . . . when suddenly my visitor thought of spelling the name . . . "*Hey*" said she. Now conceive that! The Mrs Hey[35] who came by solution, had both written to me and sent me a book on the Lakes quite lately . . . "by the author of the Spirit of the Woods" . . . There was the explanation! And my Leeds visitor will go back and say that I denied all knowledge of the charming Mrs A. the Leeds poetess, and that it was with the greatest difficulty I could be brought to recognise her existence. Oh, the arrogance and ingratitude of me! And Mrs A. . . . being "a churchwoman" . . . will expose me of course to the churchwardens! May you never fall into such ill luck! You could not expect me to walk to the post office afterwards — now could you?

[34] *British Quarterly Review*, ed. by Dr Vaughan. Dr Heaton was a contributor.

[35] Wife of William Hey, surgeon.

Acting upon the advice of Ruskin, Ellen bought 8 paintings by J. M. W. Turner, and commissioned 8 paintings by Rossetti,[36] and 2 by Arthur Hughes.[37] She also commissioned a chalk drawing of E. B. Browning by Field Talfourd in Rome 1859, which she presented in 1871 to the National Portrait Gallery. Another of her acquaintances was the painter Thomas Richmond, who painted her portrait in 1847. She was on friendly terms with his family and frequently stayed with them, in London and the Lake district. At the christening of one of his children (possibly John Ruskin Richmond, to whom she was to leave £300 in her will) she and Ruskin were godparents. There can be no doubt that Ellen was a generous aunt, the journals are full of occasions when she stood treat for family outings, or paid the expenses of her nieces on the continent. Dr Heaton returning after a trying visit abroad in his sister's company, says in all fairness that the journey would not have been possible without her generosity. In later life she obviously became more of an embarrassment to her brother and he cannot help being a little ashamed of her untidy appearance, and what he calls her peculiarities, although he never describes them.

The following extracts are Dr Heaton's account of his own and his sister's early childhood, and school life, with later accounts of some of his sister's activities. Included in these are some extracts from Dr Heaton's letters to his wife.

FAMILY HISTORY

1815. At this time my father resided in the house attached to his Shop and Warehouses No. 7 Briggate. The parlour, or common sitting room was on the ground floor, next to the front part of the shop. It is now a small shop, No. 7 having been altered by me since my father's death, till which time it retained the anomaly of being the only apartment in Briggate fronting the street, and on the ground floor, not used as a shop, except some Hotels, — behind this was a kitchen likewise on the ground floor. Over these two rooms were two bed rooms; the front room occupied by my father and mother, in which both Ellen and I were born; the back room was my bed room, during the time that I had a bed to myself, whilst my father continued to reside in Briggate.

[36] Virginia Surtees, *Paintings and Drawings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1971), Vol. I.

[37] Rosalie Mander, "The Tryst Unravelled", *Apollo*, LXXIX (March 1964), 221-3.

Over the front shop, on the first floor, was a large room, which in time of the Binns,[38] was furnished and used as a drawing room; but was never so used by my father, but was a capital play-room for Ellen and myself.... Behind this was a bedroom, reserved for visitors. Over the two front rooms extended one long room on the second floor, approached by a staircase from the shop, used as a warehouse, and filled with second hand books, in shelves all round the room, and cross shelves occupying the middle space with intervals between. In the roof was a large room over the whole building, stored with reams of paper, skins of leather and other kinds of stock. At the back on the second floor were three bed-rooms for servants. Behind the house and shop was a large open yard, and further backwards, an open plot of ground, retaining some semblance of a garden, tho' quite neglected, in which we played; the Binns family had kept it as a garden, and there were still lilac trees, grass, and golden rod, and perhaps some few other plants....

1816. On the 18th November 1816 Ellen, my sister was born; just about a year after my mother came to reside in Leeds. I believe Ellen was always a strong healthy child, and occasioned no anxiety on account of her health.

1817. On the 23rd November of this year, I was born. I was a very delicate baby and there was some difficulty at first, in procuring a wet nurse.... Our first instructions were entirely given by our Mother who was a most kind and attentive parent. At five years of age I could read easily; and Ellen was more forward in her learning, even proportionately to her more advanced age, than I was. When I was five years old, and acquired this preliminary education, Ellen and I were sent to a day school for young children, kept by Mr Langdon, (the Baptist minister in Leeds, of that time) in the house which is now the Cloth Hall Tavern, opposite the Coloured Cloth Hall, in Infirmary Street. We went twice a day and walked there and back by ourselves, after being taken there and back by the servant a few times. I distinctly recollect watching the building of the Commercial Buildings, which was then in progress, as we passed it daily.[39] At the end

[38] Mr John Binns, bookseller, was the son of Nathaniel Binns, bookseller, of Halifax. He published his first catalogue in 1767. He was a partner in the Leeds Commercial Bank under the firm of Scott, Binns, Nicholson and Smith. He was proprietor of the *Leeds Mercury* in 1794, which his widow sold to Edward Baines in 1801. He died 6 May 1796 (J.D.H.).

[39] Demolished for street widening in 1869.

of the first half year, some prizes were given, and Ellen had the first place and myself the second, amongst all the scholars. . . .

1826. On our return to Leeds [from Gateford, Notts.] Ellen first evinced her imaginative faculty, and her poetical and literary tastes, if I remember right, she was passing the morning in bed for some slight indisposition, when she called for our Mother to act as her amanuensis whilst she dictated a poetical composition on the charms of Gateford, I am rather anticipating the course of events. Before this time we had been removed from Mr Langdon's school; Ellen had commenced attendance at Miss Plints' school; and I was sent to a boys' school, kept by a Mr Ball, who was recommended to my father, by Dr Hutton, the Unitarian minister of Mill Hill Chapel at that time; we were both merely day scholars, going to school morning and afternoon, and having all our meals at home. Mr Ball was ill when I first went to the school, and he died of consumption no very long time afterwards. He was succeeded by a Mr Barber; but he was a vulgar, coarse man, and had some boys of a lower class than gentleman's sons. I did not therefore stay long with him. But Caleb Langdon, the son of our first master, (who was now dead) had commenced a school in the same house in which his father had lived; and I was removed and put under his tuition. Here I was, at all events, among school fellows of a similar position with myself. . . . I do not however think that the tuition was very first rate, and that Mr Caleb Langdon was a very judicious teacher, independently of his scholastic qualifications. My progress, also, was too much neglected at home; and my father positively refused to allow me to learn French, when a class was formed for this of some of the higher boys. I was not very fond of learning, and was inclined to be careless; and required more stimulus, either of compulsion or encouragement and assistance, than I had at this school. I fear that throughout my education, I was somewhat stinted, through some mistaken notions of economy by my father.

In the year 1827, when I was nine years of age, my father made the important step of declining business, and removing from Briggate to a more retired residence. He had been now for 23 years most assiduous in his devotion to business; allowing himself scarcely a day's relaxation. . . . In the Spring of the year 1827 my father removed to the house in Park Square, [No. 31] where he continued to reside till the time of his death. . . .

At the time of my father's declining business, I was, I believe a day scholar at Caleb Langdon's school and my sister at Miss

Plint's. . . . I continued at this school for about 2 years; and then, when I was between 12 and 13 years of age, I was removed to the Leeds Grammar School. I commenced at the Grammar School after the midsummer holidays of the year 1830. . . . I continued at the Grammar School till the midsummer of 1834; having been there, in all just four years, which time was. I should think about equally divided between the middle and upper schools. At that time Dr Holmes school was divided into the 5th, 6th and 7th forms; and I had just got into the lower remove of the 6th form. We were reading Horace and Livy, Homer and Xenophon, Sophocles and Euripides; and were doing quadratic equations, and had gone through several books of Euclid. I took more interest in the mathematical than the classical part of our studies. But I consider that my time under Dr Holmes was sadly wasted; we were left to an idle, indifferent mode of study, or idleness as we liked, our teacher had not the art of encouraging or stimulating those who had no natural love of study, and there was not the stimulus which the fear of punishment exercised over some under Mr Wollaston's rule. I fear I got into idle and negligent habits while under Dr Holmes, and only half learned what I seemed to learn. . . .

1834. I was in my seventeenth year when I left the Grammar School, at which time my father placed me with Mr Braithwaite[40] to be initiated into the medical profession. I did not seem to have any strong or decided taste for any calling; but had always expressed my abhorrence of Surgery. Great was my consternation, at first, when my father announced to me his intention to place me with Mr Braithwaite. I was not however apprenticed at first, but staid with Mr B. a few months on trial. The indenture which decided my fate is dated October 1834. In many respects my position under Mr Braithwaite was an unfortunate one. At that time, Mr B's. practice was large, but entirely amongst the class of operatives. He himself offered us no example of anything noble or elevating either in sentiment or bearing; his practice was the merest routine, and he secured popularity by a plausible and flattering manner. His provision for his pupils either in respect of lodging or board was not such as was suitable for gentlemen paying him a handsome premium. Three of us slept in one room at the top of the house, and had one drawer each for our clothes; Mr B. expatiated to me on the excellent hair mattrass provided for me to sleep on; not finding it answer to my expectations, I

[40] William Braithwaite, surgeon, 25a Park Square (Baines and Newsome, *Leeds Directory*, 1834).

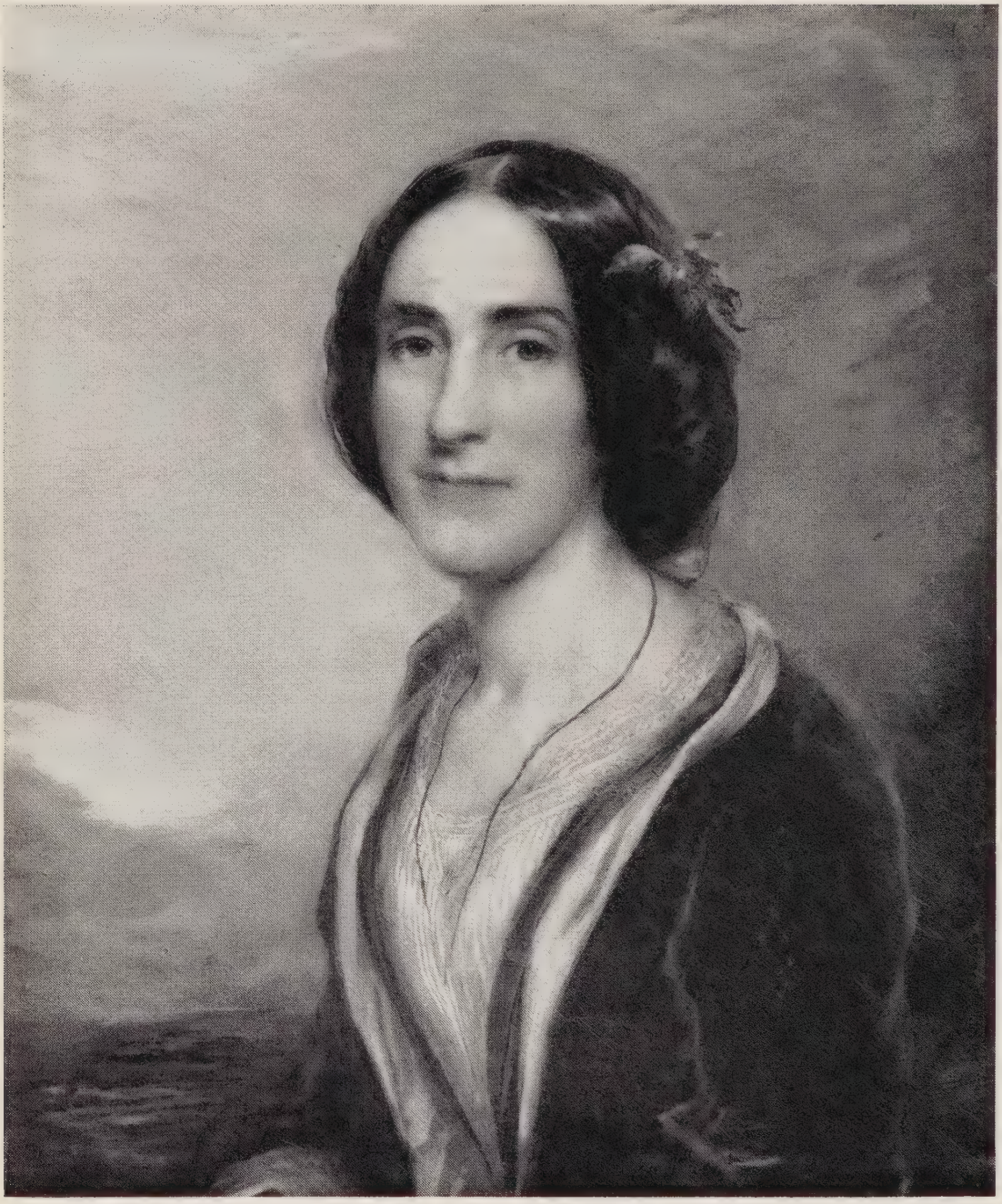
had the curiosity to open the ticking to examine its contents; I found no curled hair; but a mixture of flocks, waste tow, and worn out *teasles*. Our day room was a small dirty shed in the yard, in which three chairs and a small table scarcely left us space to move. It opened directly into the yard, and every applicant and message came into this room; the chimney constantly smoked and the constantly opening door admitted numberless draughts. On looking back on this time and place, my wonder is that our health did not seriously suffer. The pupils had to do all the dispensing, and if we set the errand boy to beat the large mortar in which drugs were pulverized, Mr B. would snarl at us. At Christmas time we had to post his ledger, and make out all his accounts, and then to deliver them; and a cold winter day has been spent by me delivering a large file of bills through all the nasty courts and lanes of the West end of the town. These were menial occupations which it was manifestly an imposition to require of gentlemen's sons paying a premium of £300; and they ought to have been resisted. With a great amount of shrewd consideration for number one, Mr B. combined a ludricrous simplicity which often made him ridiculous. He was unmarried when I commenced my residence with him; but married during my stay, the sister of the wife, (I think) of the curate Mr Hale[41] of Harewood, where he met with her. Mr Braithwaite is the illegitimate son of Mr Hale, and regularly spent a day at Harewood with his father each week. Mr Hale was a most eccentric character, holding and practicing extreme Antinomian doctrines. He was a relation of the Harewood family, but had quarreled with them, I believe on the ground of his religious views which he constantly enforced. On one occasion Mr B. took me over with him to Harewood, to visit his father the Vicar; Mr Hale was of polished, rather courtly manners, of an antiquated style; when we first arrived, Mr H. at once took his son with him into his bedroom to shave him. During much of my time at Mr Braithwaite's, Wilkinson, whom I have before mentioned as my school fellow at the grammar school, was the senior pupil at Mr B's. and his influence was of an injurious tendency. He was clever, but very conceited, of haughty overbearing manners; of low moral principle, and often pretending to a lower moral sentiment than he actually held, from mere wish

[41] Richard Hale, son of John (General in the Army), b. 10 October 1773, d. 27 September 1854. Vicar of Harewood 1800-54, Vicar of Goldsborough 1800-54.

to astonish. At the Medical School he went by the name of Lord Spacey, to commemorate his conceit and his humble origin, his mother being the keeper of the Spacey House Inn near Harrogate. When I consider the influences directly operating on me at this time and the want of much direct and active counteraction at home, (where my father left me too much to myself) I cannot but allow that I was unfavourably situated at this important period of my life, and I fear the effects are too perceptible in my character at this time.

1848. May. I must not omit to notice here a circumstance, which though apparently not very important in itself, or at the time was one link in the series of events which led to the most important and the happiest step which I have taken in my whole life. During Ellen's stay at Ilkley, in the month of May, I drove over to spend two or three days with her. She was staying in lodgings, with her friend Miss Atkinson, the daughter of the dentist in East Parade. At this time, also, Miss Rimington and the two Miss Heatons of St John's Cottage were lodging at a farm house at Barden, beyond Bolton. Ellen had met them, a few days before my visit, at Bolton, having been taken by the Atkinsons, of Little Woodhouse, who were staying at Ben Rhydding, in their carriage. (William Strange, my Aunt's step-grandson, was staying with the Atkinsons, being an old shipmate of Ed. Atkinson.) I proposed to drive Ellen and her companion to spend the day at Bolton, intending to extend the excursion to Barden, more especially with a view to seeing Miss Fanny Heaton, in whom, from first knowing her, I had felt some peculiar interest. We dined at Bolton, and then drove to Barden, and called on the party. It so happened that Fanny came to the door and welcomed us in very kindly. They asked us to stay and have an early tea with them before our return; and before this meal they took a ramble with us to see a waterfall in the neighbourhood. . . . I have always looked upon this excursion with pleasure, as having a decided influence in promoting that acquaintanceship and mutual interest which led to our union two years after this date.

1849. At the beginning of May I went to London with Ellen; we were in lodgings in Montague Place. . . . Ellen occupied herself in sitting for her portrait to her present hero Mr Thomas Richmond; she was there a great deal of her time; and the result seemed likely to be large and ugly enough, from what I saw of it.



Reproduced by permission of Mrs. R. Chaddock.

Ellen Heaton.

Possibly by Thomas Richmond.

Letter, J.D.H. to Miss Fanny Heaton.

London, Montague Place.
Russell Square.
1 May 1849.

...Yesterday, after breakfast, I went with Ellen that she might give a sitting to Mr Richmond, by whom I think I told you she is having her portrait taken; he is the same artist who painted Mr Fairbairn's family; though I suppose that those are not good examples of his abilities, having been painted when he was a much younger man.

Letter, J.D.H. to Miss Fanny Heaton.

Friday, 28 July 1849.
2, East Parade.

Another book which I have been reading lately is 'The Seven Lamps of Architecture', a work upon the principles of architecture, by Mr Ruskin, who is better known as the Oxford Graduate, under which name he wrote a large work upon modern painting, which it is not unlikely that Ellen may have mentioned to you, as she is a great admirer of it. He is a great enthusiast, and runs to extremes in his opinions, so much so that, in the work on Architecture, which is the only one I have read, he seems to me to become preposterous and self-contradictory; but there is much that is true, and he is very earnest throughout.

Ellen has gone to Attercliffe for some days, on a visit to my aunt. In a note which we have had this morning, she mentions some plans for excursions and other amusements; and it seems that even there she contrives to find some little food for her literary and artistic tastes; viz. in a visit to James Montgomery the poet, who is an old friend of my mother's family; also a call on Mr Holland, the Curator of the Museum at Sheffield, who has also written several works, and is a poet of a humbler rank; and an inspection of the Studio of a sculptor who resides at Sheffield.

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

2 East Parade.
4 August 1855.

...Ellen tells me that Miss Bateson of Park Square is really to marry Mr Nussey who used to escort her and Ellen from the Mechanics' Inst; a rather unsentimental origin of their attachment; perhaps of the two ladies so escorted he has made choice of the more appropriate one.

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

2 East Parade.
25 June 1856.

. . . You will see Ellen is rather puzzled on comparing the tower at Calais, with Ruskin's "delightful" description; also it is rather edifying that she also thinks a Cathedral "*must* be Palladian", after all her reading.

1859. September. Ellen having now in prospect her removal to her new house in Woodhouse Square and was very full of furnishing and other preparations; and as we had to be consulted about every little matter, and to see 50 things before anything could be decided on after long indecision, this matter became a very grievous burden to us.

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
11 December 1859.

. . . Did I tell you that when I dined at Ellen's, Sutcliffe the artist came in with his portfolio, which contained very little, and some old things I had known long ago; I bought two sketches of Ilkley for one guinea . . .

Ellen has got a box of sketches from Inchbold, very slight and unfinished, and not very interesting; they look as if they might any of them be done in an hour by a practical artist; but the prices vary from 8 to 15 guineas. I shall not be a purchaser of any of them.

1864. At the beginning of the month of September, Ellen went to pay a visit to Sir Walter and Lady Trevelyan's, at Wallington,[42] near Newcastle, having made their acquaintance in London, somehow, amongst her Artistic friends; and having put Lady T. under a sort of obligation, by undertaking the sale of Honiton Lace, for the benefit of poor lace makers in Devonshire and Cornwall, for whom Lady T. interests herself. Ellen has effected the sale of this lace to the value of above a £100, having pressed it upon everybody she meets with, in season and out of season.

[42] Actually near Rothbury, Northumberland.

DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI

1865. June. Ellen took us to call on Rossetti the Artist, in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, a rather large old fashioned house, called Tudor House, the site of a Palace of King Henry VIII commanding a very pleasant view of the river. The house is full of old furniture, old tapestry, pictures etc., one rather small room was filled with old blue and white Japan china, in piles on the floor and everywhere, so as to be quite incapable of occupation. The rooms have a quaint, antique appearance, but very uncomfortable and untidy for a residence. Rossetti was very obliging in giving us his time for more than an hour, and in showing us his rooms and his studio. He has a curious nonchalant mode of talking and walks about with his hands stuffed into his loose trowser pockets. He showed us several of his pictures which he had in progress. His paintings are not at all to my taste; he has only one style of female face which he continually repeats; the attitude is unnatural, the neck particularly distorted, the shoulders high, there is usually a profusion of wild, shaggy hair about the neck. At present he seemed to have a Chinese mania, and put Chinese dresses on all his figures, and Chinese ornaments in the hair, or made a background of Chinese blue and white tiles. Everything that is old. or oriental, however ugly, he admired; everything modern, in the way of Art he despised indiscriminately, calling it "beastly".

1872. Tuesday 27 February. Ellen returned home from a visit to Thos. Richmond's, at Windermere. The Richmonds invite Ellen, and make some superficial pretence of regard for her on the most mercenary principles, getting out of her large presents both in money and other things; T. Richmond has a loan of £1,200 of Ellen's money on mere personal security, for which he pays her 4 per cent. interest very irregularly or not at all. Meanwhile Miss Richmond who now came back with Ellen on a visit to Leeds, allowed herself to speak very contemptuously of Ellen, who is her God-mother, . . .

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
8 November 1872.

I am writing before breakfast this morning, having had no time to write last night. Professor Geikie came here about 6 o'clock, from Manchester, where he had been lecturing to a Working-mens

meeting the previous evg. We had a meat-tea for him, after which we went to the Hall, where the attendance was rather small, as it was the evg. of the first assembly. I had some members of Council to supper; Professor Ward, Mr Cheane, Allbutt, Eddison, and Atkinson; Some were invited and came not, viz. Woodford, Wilson, Ikin, Miall. One guest came uninvited, as you may suppose, viz. Aunt Ellen — who walked in curiously tumbled up while we were at tea, in which condition she stopped and accompanied us to the lecture, and thence to supper. She went away from the table after supper, saying, as I understood her — that she must go to her guest; who her guest was I have not yet learnt. Better not have left her.

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
12 February 1875.

At Halifax . . . then to the Phil. Society's rooms where the meeting was held. There might be nearly a hundred present mostly ladies. Mr Ed. Akroyd in the Chair; he is Mayor of Halifax. Various ladies read long reports — amongst others Ellen on the 'Care of Health',[43] Mr Crossley spoke; and said the reports were very interesting; if it were not invidious he should say that read by Miss Heaton particularly so. I am not sure whether that was quite judicious; as it might arouse feelings of jealousy in other female minds. Actually Ellen's was the most flowing. . . .

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
18 February 1875.

We dont see much of Aunt Ellen, who spends her evenings now at University Extension lectures. I suspect that Stewart has put her up to something new. She has offered to pay 3d admission to as many working men as will go to these lectures; which I hence conclude are not very well attended. She has been having some encounter with Miss Lucy[44] thereon. and lowers herself by using very strong language against her when she has the opportunity

[43] Ellen Heaton was Hon. Secretary of the Health Committee of the Yorkshire Ladies' Council of Education, and this report was published in the Council's Annual Report, 1875.

[44] Miss Lucy Wilson, active in the foundation of the local University Extension Committee, was responsible for bringing Professor J. Stuart of Cambridge to Leeds.

which, being behind Lucy's back, and quite unrestrained, must redound rather to Ellen's disadvantage in the minds of hearers, than to Lucy's, as I conceive. . . .

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
20 February 1875.

Ellen is entirely given up to a craze about Foxwell's University Extension lectures. We see nothing of her, almost, which is so far convenient. I suppose Stewart is at the bottom of it; and Helen thinks there is a very brisk correspondence going on which keeps the former in good humour. She has now determined to *give a public tea* to all working men, to come to be addressed by Foxwell. She says she does not care what costs it her. She is also determined to pay no attention to anything I may say, and she is not going to be made uncomfortable *by me*. She says she is busy all day and has no time to stop here and speak to Helen. I fear she is rather mad. I fear I am as busy as Ellen; I hope with rather more advantage, and a good deal less craze.

Letter, J.D.H. to his wife.

Claremont, Leeds.
18 September 1875.

. . . I enclose a letter from Ellen which came in the middle of today; she seems rather disposed to stay at Dresden; pray encourage so good an intention. There is no need for her here; 'The Care of Health' will do better without her; University Extension disowns her. . . .

Ellen Heaton was 78 when she died in 1894, on Christmas day, having outlived her brother and his wife and two of their six children. In the following year her eldest and youngest nephews died, within three months of each other, and it was Beresford Rimington Heaton, Dr Heaton's only surviving son who inherited her paintings. These he bequeathed to the Nation, and after his death in 1940, they went to the Tate Gallery.

KIRKSTALL FORGE AND MONKISH IRON-MAKING

by

R. A. MOTT

THE SITUATION OF KIRKSTALL FORGE on a site about half a mile from the ruins of Kirkstall Abbey, and the known early activity of the Cistercian monks of the abbey in iron-making, has led most writers into making a connection between these two facts, though Ralph Thoresby was a notable exception.

Kendall[1] said: 'The monks of Kirkstall, whose house was founded in the present position only in 1161, had iron-works in Ardsley possibly before 1154, and later they established iron-works near their own abbey. In both locations iron-works which may be the direct descendant of the monastic enterprise, survive to the present day.'

C. H. Vellacott,[2] an experienced medieval scholar, after referring to the activity of the Kirkstall monks in iron-making at Ardsley and Seacroft, said: 'The famous Kirkstall forge was probably not worked by the monks on their own account much later than the end of the fourteenth century.' Maud Sellars,[3] continuing Vellacott's record of medieval iron-making in Yorkshire to modern times, thought that an oft-quoted statement made in 1546 to a forge at Kirkstall (where this had a manorial rather than a geographical meaning) was probably that mentioned in 1618 (which was undoubtedly on the abbey site).

With these implications, by experienced scholars, that an iron-works on the site of the present Kirkstall forge was probably worked by the monks of Kirkstall, Rodney Butler can hardly be blamed, when writing the history of the association of his family with Kirkstall forge for nearly two centuries, for entitling his book *The History of Kirkstall Forge through Seven Centuries*, A.D. *1200-1954*. In fact, all these writers were misled about the geographical location of the bloomery (*forgio comburendo*) which

[1] P. F. Kendall & H. E. Wroot, *The geology of Yorkshire* (1925), 193-7.
[2] C. H. Vellacott in *Victoria County History, Yorks.*, II, 244.
[3] M. Sellars in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 392, quoting Lansdowne MS. 900, fol. 1.

the monks of Kirkstall worked after they abandoned those at Ardsley and Seacroft, and there is no evidence of the existence on the abbey site of either a finery forge, or even a bloomery forge[4] until about a century after the Dissolution of the monasteries — and it is desirable that the record should be clarified to avoid further speculations.

Feudal Kirkstall

We may see, in the record of Domesday manors near Leeds, a part of the terrible vengeance William the Conquerer took on the shire for the rebellion in York in 1069.[5] One result of this was the building of castles at Sheffield, Conisbrough, Tickhill, Pontefract, Harewood, Skipton and Richmond and, in the twelfth century, the settlement in Yorkshire of ten houses of Cistercian monks, the great farmers of the period, though six of these houses (Rievaulx, Fountains, Byland, Roche, Jerveaulx and Kirkstall) were also associated with iron-making in the shire. The Domesday records[6] of manors near Leeds are:

District	Distance from Leeds (miles)	Carucates	Value 1066	Value 1086
Burden Head	6½N.	1	20s.	waste
Eccup	6N.	1	10s.	waste
Adel	4N.	1½	10s.	waste
Cookridge	5NW.	3	20s.	waste
Headingley	2½NW.	7	40s.	4s.
Chapel Allerton	2½N.	6	40s.	waste
Potter Newton	2NE.	8	—	waste
Gipton	3NE.	1	—	waste
Leeds	——	10	£6	£7
Allerton Gledhow	3NNE.	6	—	waste
Seacroft	4NE.	7	£4	20d.
Halton	3E.	6	20s.	2s.
Austhorpe	5E.	4	—	waste
Preston	6SE.	6	—	waste

In these records only Leeds had increased in value after the Norman conquest but the value of the surrounding townships had suffered considerably, particularly Seacroft, Headingley and

[4] The claim that a fourteenth-century 'bloomery' was found within the precincts of the cloister of Kirkstall Abbey and beneath that traces of an even older one is misleading. ("Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1960-64", *Thoresby Society Publications*, LI (1967), 1; *see also* "Kirkstall Abbey Excavations, 1950-54", *Thoresby Society Publications*, XLIII (1955), 51-5, 67.) These were clearly 'fabricae' or smith's hearths and not bloomeries for making iron.

[5] J. R. Green, *The conquest of England* (1883), 574-7.

[6] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 227, 243-5.

Chapel Allerton. It was in the wastes that the abbot and convent of Kirkstall Abbey received early grants of land. Headingley was divided from the two Allertons (called West and East in early charters) by Meanwood Beck which flowed from Adel in a general south-easterly direction to join the river Aire east of the centre of Leeds. This beck, on which the discussion will later centre, had, in 1715, eight mills in a distance of seven miles below Adel,[7] the most ancient of which was Headingley cornmill.

When Domesday Book was compiled (1086) the whole of the territory near modern Leeds was in the overlordship of Ilbert de Lacy I (d. 1087), lord of the Honor of Pontefract, who granted Leeds to Ralph Paganel, whose son William inherited Leeds and married the heiress of Harewood. The daughter of William Paganel, who inherited both manors and lived in the period of the building of Kirkstall Abbey, resisted the ownership of land in her territories by the abbot and convent of Kirkstall.

In 1152, when the abbey was founded at Kirkstall, Henry de Lacy (*c.* 1117-*c.* 1187), grandson of Ilbert I, was lord of the Honor of Pontefract, then the most important in the West Riding. Headingley was held by William de Pietevin, Bramley by William de Reineville and Allerton by Samson de Allerton as vassals of de Lacy. William de Pietevin gave to the abbey 4 carucates in the west of Headingley and ½ carucate in the east;[8] to this his son (d. before 1207) added a further carucate in the east (making a total of 5½ of the 7 carucates of Domesday Book) as well as the wood called Meanwood[9] (on the east of Meanwood Beck with Weetwood on the opposite side).

William Mustel gave to the abbey all Adel with its ponds, mills and villeins and confirmed the grant of Roger, his father, of Cookridge and a mill ("Scheneself"). The Mustels were vassals of the Paganels; two daughters of William Paganel (a cousin of the inheritor of Leeds and Harewood) confirmed the grants of the Mustels. To eliminate any doubt of the ownership of Adel, this William Paganel (who held a mortgage on the Mustels' land and died in 1188) confirmed[10] Roger's grant and gave to the monks pasture for 60 beasts, 300 sheep, 60 pigs in wood or plain 'except Heselwode' which W. T. Lancaster thought was between Cookridge

[7] R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), 38.

[8] "Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey", ed. by W. T. Lancaster and W. P. Baildon, *Thoresby Society Publications*, VIII (1904), 58 (charter no. LXXVI).

[9] *Ibid.*, 62-3 (charter no. LXXXII).

[10] "The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey", *Thoresby Society Publications*, IV (1895), 262-3.

and Bramhope and through which, as a later reference shows, Meanwood Beck passed.

Samson of Allerton had, before 1154, granted to the abbey two carucates in West Allerton but later he exchanged this gift for two carucates in East Allerton (Gledhow). Adam, the grandson of Samson, confirmed his grandfather's grant with a mill and then granted to the abbey the whole of Allerton.[11]

The earliest ironworks of Kirkstall Abbey are mentioned in its chartulary: A confirmation (charter XIII) of Henry II (1154-89) includes *'ex dono Engelran forgiam et terram in Ardeslowe'* (the gift of Engelran of a forge and land in Ardsley between Leeds and Wakefield.)[12]

The second ironworks of Kirkstall Abbey are mentioned in charter CLXXV:[13] 'grant of William de Somerville of all the land with appurtenances which I have between the township of Seacroft and the grange of Roundhay and in my great wood of Seacroft and wood of Roundhay as far as Wynmoor with rights to mine ironstone (*cum mineria ferri effodienda*).' Lancaster's footnote to the charter reads: 'There is a more detailed grant of mineral rights by this William de Somerville in a charter copied by Dodsworth (VIII, 58). By it he gives to the monks the ironstone in all his demesnes . . . on condition that in every year in which they got the ironstone they should provide him and his men of Seacroft with iron for their ploughs, and also that they should fill up the pits from which the stone had been taken.'

We know, from later geological records, that Ardsley was a less favourable site than Seacroft for ironstone supplies. We know also that iron-making continued at Seacroft into the fourteenth century and that it was the site of later charcoal and coke blast-furnaces. We may, therefore, concentrate our attention on Seacroft, the history of which in relation to Kirkstall Abbey is well established.

The records given above show that the abbot and convent of Kirkstall Abbey owned most of Headingley (in which manor their abbey was built), Allerton, Adel, Cookridge (all waste in Domesday Book) and at least had considerable grants in Seacroft. In fact, it appears that they owned most of the territory north of the river Aire, excepting only the manor of Leeds, Harewood and the domains of the Knights Templar of Temple Newsam.

[11] "Coucher Book", 100-1 (charter no. CXXXII).
[12] W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, V (1846), 535-6.
[13] "Coucher Book", 127 (charter no. CLXXV).

The best account of the early history of Kirkstall Abbey is in the Laud MS. in the Bodleian Library.[14] This records that Alexander was the first abbot from 1147 to 1182; he it was who transferred the site from Barnoldswick to Kirkstall and built the abbey. He was succeeded by 13 abbots who, until 1284, seemed in their short periods of office to be distinguished more by their innocence, asceticism and piety than by administrative ability for, when Hugh de Grymston took office in 1284, he found a distressing state of affairs. The Abbot of Fountains, the parent abbey, in that year certified that there were debts at Kirkstall totalling £5,248. 15s. 7d. and 5 sacks of wool [estimated value £26. 10s. 10d.], and that their stock had been reduced to 99 oxen and cows, 16 bullocks and 21 asses, with no sheep.[15]

Three years later the Abbot (with one companion who was to succeed him at Kirkstall) set out for Gascony where, on 13 October, they found the king (Edward I) and also Henry de Lacy (descendant of the overlord of the founder of the abbey), then Earl of Lincoln, who presented their petition to the king. He, in court, refused their petition because of the precedent it would set, whereupon the earl obtained permission for the abbot to see the king in person and he issued to them two writs. One was to the effect that the abbot and convent of Kirkstall held of the Crown the fee-farm of Bardsey and Collingham (south of the river Wharfe and to the east of Harewood lordship) at a rent of £90, and that no distraint for debt would be put into force. The second writ was to the king's treasurer, the Bishop of Ely, to induce the creditors of the abbot and convent to allow them reasonable terms by which they would be able to pay their debts, retaining a moderate sum for their maintenance.

The Earl of Lincoln, on his own behalf, agreed to advance to the abbot £350 to avoid a default on two sums, each of 500 marks (£333 ⅓), owed to a cardinal and a Jew, respectively. In return the abbot and convent were to release to the earl £35 of annual rent from their de Lacy lands in Accrington, Claviger and Huncoat (in co. Lancaster), Roundhay, Seacroft and Shadwell in East Allerton, Yorkshire (the total rents of which were worth £41. 7s. 9d.) for which the earl agreed to pay 80 marks (£53 ⅓) in annual rent for ever, the details to be enrolled in Chancery.

The steps taken were so effective that, by 1301, whilst Hugh

[14] "The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey", *Thoresby Society Publications*, IV (1895), 169-208.
[15] *Ibid.*, 189.

de Grymston was still abbot, the debts had been reduced to £160 and the stock consisted of 216 draught oxen, 160 cows, 152 bullocks, etc., 90 calves and 4,500 sheep. For our present purpose, this transfer of the major part of the Kirkstall holdings in Roundhay and Seacroft to the Earl of Lincoln is of great significance, for the records of the ironworks there subsequently appear in the accounts of the Duchy of Lancaster or the royal accounts for the following reasons: Henry, earl of Lincoln, the benefactor of Abbot Hugh de Grymston, died in 1311. His estates had been settled on his daughter, in 1294, on her marriage to Thomas of Lancaster who led the revolt against Edward II but was captured and executed in his own castle of Pontefract in 1322. The Earl of Lancaster's estates (including those of de Lacy) passed, after temporary seizure by the Crown, to his brother Henry, the third Earl of Lancaster (1280-1345) whose son Henry (1300-61) was made Earl of Derby (1337), succeeded as Earl of Lancaster (1345) and Earl of Lincoln (1349), and became the first Duke of Lancaster (1351).

The Duchy of Lancaster accounts[16] show that a bloomery (*forgio comburendo*) in the former territory of the monks at Roundhay was working in 1295/96 for seven weeks at the high rent of 9s. od. per week, a rate which can be taken to imply that it was waterwheel-operated and produced a bigger bloom (perhaps 100 lb. instead of the 30 lb. of bloomeries with foot-operated bellows). Vellacott has shown[17] that similar high rents were being paid in the period 1280-1350 in the territory of Knaresborough castle (a seat of the Duke of Lancaster) and of Spofforth castle (the chief seat of the Percys before they moved to Northumberland). It is possible that such bloomeries were first introduced into Yorkshire, at Kirkby Overblow, by Edmund, 1st earl of Lancaster, who, in 1275, was in Champagne.[18]

The execution of Thomas of Lancaster in 1322 led to his estates being seized by the Crown for five years, so that in 1322 the records of Roundhay bloomery appear in the royal accounts; it was in operation for 20 weeks at the same rent as in 1295/96.[19] In 1356, a bloomery worked at Roundhay for 12 weeks at a rent of 10s. 6d. per week up to Christmas and, in the next year, two bloomeries worked there for 35½ weeks at the same rent.[20]

[16] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 349.
[17] C. H. Vellacott in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 346-8.
[18] B. Gille, *Les origines de la grande industrie métallurgique en France* (1949), 14.
[19] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 349. 15 Edw. II quoted by Vellacott as 1296 should be 1322.
[20] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 349.

Post-Dissolution Kirkstall

Our next glimpse of the iron-making activities within the territory of the abbot and convent of Kirkstall Abbey is not obtained until after the Dissolution of the monasteries. At the Dissolution, part of the manor of Kirkstall, including the abbey site, was leased to Robert Pakeman who had been Henry VIII's 'fermor' for abbey lands. The abbey site included 'two water-mills for grain within the said site . . . , and a grange called New Grange'.[21] Edward VI granted the abbey lands to Archbishop Cranmer but, on his attainder in 1559, they reverted to the Crown. In 1584, after temporary holdings for three years, the chief Kirkstall manors came into the possession of Sir Robert Savile, whose son became the first Baron Savile of Pontefract, Comptroller of the King's Household (1566-1630); his son, Thomas, the second baron (1590-1659), was created Earl of Sussex.[22]

The lease of Kirkstall to Robert Pakeman in 1541 was the cause of a legal case which gives us a glimpse of the ironworks in the territory (manor) of Kirkstall. Sir Robert Nevile of Liversedge brought a case in the Court of Augmentation to prove his right to the ironworks then being worked in the Kirkstall manor. He said that he had paid a fine of £20 on entrance to the late abbot and that the smithies had been 'usually letten and demysed this hundredthe yeres and more'[23] or, in Vellacott's other words mentioned at the beginning, 'was probably not worked by the monks on their own account much later than the end of the fourteenth century'. Vellacott, in recording the Nevile case, gave, in a footnote, the details of the lease *'Et de 46s 8d de firma duorum*

[21] J. Sprittles, "New Grange, Kirkstall", *Thoresby Society Publications*, XLVI (1963), 23.

[22] The meteoric rise of these three generations of Savile should be noted. The Saviles of Thornhill, Elland and Tankersley were one of the most powerful families in the West Riding in Tudor and Stuart times. Sir Henry Savile, who died in 1558, had a son Edward (the Simple) (J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* (1831), 301), and a daughter (both of whom died without lawful issue), and an illegitimate son, Robert. On the death of Edward in 1603/4 the Savile estates passed by inheritance to a younger branch. Sir Henry, on the marriage of Robert to Anne Thimbleby, widow, settled them at Howley Hall, Batley (R. Thoresby, *op. cit.*, 152). This is the Sir Robert Savile who received the Kirkstall estates. On the death of his grandson in 1659 his will ("Yorkshire Wills", Yorks. Arch. Soc. Record Ser., IX (1890), 156) showed that he possessed "a good estate in those manors of Christall *als.* Kirkstall of Headingley, Burley, Bramley, Ardsley, Morley, etc.". He left rents of £800 p.a. to his wife for life and £5,000 as the portion of his daughter who married Francis, Lord Brudenell, whose son became the 3rd earl of Cardigan.

[23] C. H. Vellacott in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 344.

de smethes quorum unum vocatur Whetwode et alterum Heselwell smethes'.[24] Vellacott, however, perhaps because the date was outside his special period, failed to realise that these were not 'the famous Kirkstall forge', for Whetwode is clearly Weetwood on Meanwood Beck.[25] At this period, immediately after the Dissolution, there were no ironworks at the abbey site as the survey of the site in 1538 shows.[26] Here the 'Abbey Precincts' occupied 6 acres, the Brewhouse Croft 6 acres, the Overkirkgarth 5 acres, a total of 17 acres, which corresponds with the area now preserved round the site. There was also a Penter (Tenter?) close of ½ acre and a pasture called Colman Croft of 2 acres with '*duo molendina aquatica granatica infra scitum praedicta*'. These two grain watermills below the said site, with an annual value of £1. 6s. 8d., were also mentioned in the grant to Pakeman soon afterwards. There were also Fryday Sick (4 acres), Sawtree Close (7 acres) and arable abutting Abbey Lane (10 acres).

Vellacott was primarily concerned with records of Yorkshire ironworks to the end of the fifteenth century and only mentioned Sir Robert Nevile's legal action to show the end of the monkish activity in iron-making. Maud Sellars continued the story in the same volume of *V.C.H. Yorks.*, but made the same mistake as Vellacott. After quoting the statement made in 1546 by William Vavasour of Haslewood, near Bramham, that there were in his area '3 Forges for making Iron, Kirkstall, Follyfoot (Spofforth) and Rodwell Hage (Rothwell Haigh)', she said that the ironworks referred to as 'Kirkstall' were probably those mentioned in an indenture of 1618 but, as we shall see, the latter were, in fact, on the abbey site, but the Kirkstall forge of 1546 would be those at 'Whetwode' and 'Hesylwell' considered together. The indenture of 10 May 1618 was quoted by Maud Sellars,[27] the following being a summary:

> 'Lease from John Lord Savile to Francis Fane, kt, Edward Barrett, kt, Robert Leigh, gent. and George Hemsworth of the Iron forge (*fabrica ferraria*) and the close which lies to the north of the R. Aire in the manors of Headingley and Burley, part of the manor of Kirkstall, containing 10 acres of land, with all buildings, watercourses, flood-gates,

[24] *Ibid.*, 344.

[25] Possibly on the site of the later Felt mills east of Weetwood Hall; the outcrop of the base of the Lower Coal Measures, an implication of ironstone bands, which passes through Seacroft also runs through Weetwood. Hesylwell was possibly Haslewood between Cookridge and Bramhope, also on Meanwood Beck.

[26] W. Dugdale, *op. cit.*, 551.

[27] M. Sellars in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 392.

streams and all landways and passages belonging to the said iron forge and woods called Hawksworth, Cookridge wood and Grimwell banks only excepted.'

On the death of John Lord Savile in 1631 there was an inquest post-mortem[28] in which it was stated that he held 'the site of the former monastery of ... Kirkstall on the north side of the water called Ayre ... with the exception of an iron smithy called the Iron forge, a parcel of land on which the smithy now stands, containing about 10 acres of land and all the buildings, watercourses, flood-gates, streams and things necessary in the said smythys'. Although the use of the term forge was ambiguous at this period, the term 'smythys' was applied to a bloomery, and the associated watercourses show that it was waterwheel-operated. In another lease taken out about the same time (2 April 1621) by Sir Francis Fane, and others from Sir Francis Wortley for 'divers Iron Smithies' near Wortley (Sheffield), these were said to contain 'houses, buildings, stringe hearthes, bloom hearthes, dames, streams and watercourses thereto belonging',[29] showing the Wortley Iron Smithies to be bloomeries.

The site of the 1618 'Iron forge' is clearly, from the reference to the river Aire and Hawksworth wood (which adjoins the abbey), the abbey site, Cookridge and Grimwell bank woods being excepted because the manor of Cookridge had been sold to the Kirks of Leeds in 1583.[30]

Sir Francis Fane,[31] who leased the Kirkstall and Wortley bloomeries, was the son of Sir Thomas Fane of Badsell, near Tonbridge, Kent, who, as his second wife had, in 1574, married Mary Nevile, daughter and heiress of Henry Nevile, Lord Abergavenny, the lineal descendant of the first Earl of Westmorland.[32] Sir Thomas Fane had, about the time of his second marriage, worked two charcoal blast-furnaces and two finery forges near Tonbridge.[33] It may be deduced that when his son, Sir Francis Fane, took over the bloomery sites near Kirkstall Abbey (and at Wortley, Sheffield), it was his intention to build finery forges there and a charcoal blast-furnace on an appropriate site. He was, through his mother, a relative of the Sir Robert Nevile of Liversedge who had the lease of the Weetwood and Haslewell

[28] *Chanc. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 2), cccclxxvi, 141.
[29] Wharncliffe Deeds (Sheffield City Library, Wh.D.), 503, 2 April 1621.
[30] R. Thoresby, *op. cit.*, 127.
[31] Incorrectly called Fame both by Maud Sellars and R. Butler.
[32] Burke's *Peerage*.
[33] E. Straker, *Wealden iron* (1931), 222, 258.

bloomeries of Kirkstall Abbey at the time of the Dissolution. He was also a contender for the earldom of Westmorland and, in fact, succeeded to this in 1624 but died in 1628, though, at the earlier date, he doubtless moved to Raby castle, Co. Durham, the chief seat of the Westmorlands.

The fact that the first known leases of Kirkstall bloomery (1618)[34] and Wortley bloomery (1621/22), both in the first instance to Sir Francis Fane, and the first known leases of Kirkstall finery forge (1658)[35] and Wortley Upper and Lower finery forges (1658),[36] both to John Spencer I or his relatives by marriage, imply a partnership relationship. In fact from 1658 to 1667 the chief clerk (manager) of the forges in both places was William Cotton I, son-in-law of Elizabeth, sister of John Spencer I.[37] By 1676 the unexpired portion of the 31-years' lease of Kirkstall forge had been taken over by Thomas Dickin I (a cousin of William Cotton I), William Cotton II and John Spencer II. The Dickin portion in Kirkstall was taken over in 1690 in a new lease for 25 years by Thomas Dickin I, but he, dying in 1692, the lease was taken over by his son Thomas Dickin II, who, from 1695 had the lease of Wortley forges for seven years. When Thomas Dickin II came to an early death in 1700, the Wortley leases were subsequently in the hands of John Spencer III and his descendants and relatives by marriage.

Until recently there has been a gap in our knowledge between the bloomery leases of both Kirkstall and Wortley of *c.* 1620 and the finery forge leases at both places in 1658. The writer has been able, from a study of the Wharncliffe Deeds, to show that Wortley Lower forge was a shot forge making shot for the royalist forces in 1643[38] and that both the Wortley forges (as well as the bloomery) were in existence in 1642.[39] There is a rather vague reference to 'Watley forge' in 1641.[40] Sir Francis Wortley, the first baronet, who owned, among other manors, those of Wortley, Hunshelf and Newhall, mortgaged his manors

[34] *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 392, quoting *Chanc. Inq. p.m.* (Ser. 3), 476, 141.
[35] R. Butler, *The history of Kirkstall Forge through seven centuries, A.D. 1200-1954* (1954), 4.
[36] Wharncliffe Deeds, 576.
[37] B. G. Awty, "Charcoal ironmasters of Cheshire and Lancashire, 1600-1785", *Trans. Lancs. & Cheshire Hist. Soc.*, 109 (1957), 71-120.
[38] J. Hunter, *Hallamshire*, 2nd ed. with additions (1874), 137-41, quoting from Beaumont MS., Bodleian Library.
[39] R. A. Mott, *Bull. Hist. Metall. Group.*, Iron & Steel Inst., V (1971), 63-70.
[40] H. G. Baker, *Lecture to Sheffield Trades Historical Society*, 5 October 1944.

to his mother, then the Dowager Countess of Devonshire, in 1638, for £20,000,[41] and it appears possible that the Wortley forges (and Bank furnace in Newhall manor) were built by 1640. Wortley forges were always leased, from 1676 to 1793, with Bank furnace which was probably built at the same time as the finery forges.

We can be less certain about Kirkstall finery forge but a date of about 1640 for its first building seems probable. John Spencer II was the son of Randolph of Criggon, Montgomery, a chapelry of Alberbury, Shropshire, where the Spencers originated.[42] Randolph had a brother, Walter, married to Frances Barnby of Barnby Hall, to whose Barnby furnace John Spencer II, son of Randolph, went in 1650. These brothers had a sister, Elizabeth, married to William Fownes I, of Iston Rhyn blast furnace, Maesbury and Fernhill forges, Shropshire, which he had vacated by 1639 to go to Wortley.[43] It was, presumably, this Fownes and his brother-in-law John Spencer I who built Kirkstall finery forge, worked in conjunction with Barnby furnace, a necessary adjunct for a finery forge which made sow iron into wrought iron, whereas a bloomery made wrought iron from iron ore. It was the nephew of William Fownes I, William Fownes II, who was a partner in the Kirkstall lease of 1658.

We do not know how long the bloomery on the Kirkstall Abbey site had been in operation before it was leased to Sir Francis Fane in 1618, but it seems unlikely that it was in existence before the old Kirkstall manors were acquired by the Saviles.

Of the writers mentioned at the beginning of this article, Butler was the only one to argue a case for a monkish origin of an ironworks on the Kirkstall Abbey site. He based his claim on the gift of a leat from the river Aire near 'Flethaga', which leat he assumed was that he illustrated from Cow Beck which went to a fishpond near the abbey and then had a cut to the river Aire. He attributed the grant to Nigel of Horsforth[44] whose gifts were recorded in the chartulary.[45] These were: (1) 12d. from lands in the North Crofts; (2) 12d. from Den Grange; (3) the lands of Coltfal to the road which leads to Den Bridge; (4) the land

[41] *Inventory of the muniments of the Rt Hon. the Earl of Wharncliffe*, Fol. MS., Sheffield City Library.

[42] A. S. Davies, "The Spencer family", *in* A. Raistrick, "The South Yorkshire iron industry, 1698-1756", *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, XIX (1938/9), 82.

[43] I. Edwards, "The charcoal iron industry of Denbighshire, *c.* 1690-1770", *Denbigh Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 10 (1961), 47.

[44] R. Butler, *op. cit.*, 1.

[45] W. Dugdale, *op. cit.*, 546-7.

between the river which is called 'Gryndstonwell' which runs to the water called the Aire; (5) a mill-pond, a mill and the adjoining meadow with liberty of entry and exit and all necessary facilities and 'Gryndston well syke' to Flethaga; (6) 12d. from the land of William the Smith. These six grants were followed by: a leat in the extreme part of the culture called 'Aylsirode' towards Flethaga; which leat begins in the water called Aire until it reaches the culture of Stephen which he holds from Wm. Lelay of a true width of five feet.

All these grants Lancaster dated[46] to the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth. It should be noted that, in Domesday Book, Horsforth was divided into three portions of which, at the time of the grants to the abbey, two were held by the Mauleverers (of whom Nigel of Horsforth was a free man) and William Lelay (Leathley). The final of these small grants was, therefore, separate from the six of Nigel of Horsforth and was from William Lelay. Flethaga is now Flethough farm, near Newlay bridge across the river Aire about ½ mile west from where the Cow Beck (formerly Oil Mill Beck and *c.* 1200 Grindstonewell sike) enters the river Aire. The other recognisable place-names are, like Flethaga, clearly in Horsforth, the North Crofts and Den Grange (now Dean Grange farm). The leat is therefore that shown on modern O.S. maps from Cow Beck going *west* and opposite to the leat going *east* to the abbey site. Butler was therefore mistaken in his assumption that the leat was to the abbey site.

It may be noted that the small grants included 12d. from the land of William the Smith. It may be that these lands were related to the Blooming Dale of modern O.S. maps near Dean Grange farm. It is worthy of note that it was the land in the northern part of the territory in which Nigel of Horsforth made his grants which produced the most rental. William the Smith may have operated a bloomery in Blooming Dale through which the outcrop of the Lower Coal Measures, as an index of ironstone supplies, passes. This may be the nearest bloomery to the abbey site, *c.* 1200.

In the important manuscript description of the early years of Kirkstall Abbey previously used, it is recorded of the first Abbot Alexander (1147-82) 'so diligently did he guard the ample woods that he had acquired from the favour of God for the benefit of those who were to follow him, that from them he took no material for building, but bought all together from other sources'.[47] It is

[46] W. T. Lancaster, "The early history of Horsforth", *Thoresby Society Publications*, XV (1909), 222-50.

[47] "The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey", 181.

unlikely, with this precedent set by the most revered of the abbots, that his successors would sacrifice the woods near the abbey for iron-making. The building of corn mills to obtain revenue was a common feature of grants to early abbeys, e.g., the monks of Beauchief Abbey (Sheffield).[48]

The writer, who has made a special study of early English bloomeries,[49] must therefore conclude that the monks of Kirkstall Abbey followed the precedent of their parent abbey and other houses of their order in working bloomeries at some distance from their abbey;[50] that they maintained ironworks at Seacroft *c.* 1200-87 and at Weetwood and Haslewell from 1287 to *c.* 1400, by which time few Cistercian houses were concerned directly in iron-making but had leased the ironworks on their land to others. It must, therefore, be concluded that there were no ironworks (bloomery forge) on Kirkstall Abbey site until after the Dissolution and perhaps not much earlier than 1600. The finery forge which replaced the bloomery forge was probably built *c.* 1640.

[48] R. A. Mott, "The water mills of Beauchief Abbey", *Trans. Hunter Arch. Soc.*, IX (1969), 203-20.

[49] R. A. Mott, "English bloomeries (1329-1589), *J. Iron & Steel Inst.*, 198 (1961), 149-61; *see also* "Early ironmaking in the Sheffield area", *Trans. Newcomen Soc.*, XXVII (1949-50), 225-35.

[50] Fountains, Rievaulx and Byland Abbeys in the North Riding all worked bloomeries in the West Riding (C. H. Vellacott in *V.C.H. Yorks.*, II, 333-4).

THE VENERABLE EDMUND SYKES OF LEEDS, PRIEST AND MARTYR

by

THE REV. GEORGE BRADLEY

and

ALLISTER LONSDALE, M.A.

EDMUND SYKES WAS BORN SHORTLY BEFORE 1552,[1] the son of a Leeds cloth merchant called James Sykes,[2] who in 1539 was living in Kirkgate, Leeds.[3] Among his father's friends and neighbours were Richard and Janet Cowper at whose house there lodged John Matthew, a dispossessed chantry priest.[4] In 1551 James Sykes became one of the first Governors of the Leeds Grammar School, founded by William Sheffield, another dispossessed chantry priest.[5] Other Governors included Sir John Neville, who was to take part in the Rising of the North in 1569, and William Arthington who was imprisoned for recusancy.[6] The first headmaster was William Hargraves whose relative, Richard, went to the English College, Douai, in March 1577, to be reconciled to the Church and who served Douai with great distinction.[7] It seems probable that Edmund Sykes attended the Leeds Grammar School so that both at home and at school he found himself in a Catholic atmosphere.

According to the manuscript of Fr. Christopher Grene he then

[1] He was ordained priest 21 February 1581, *infra*; the New Style of dating is used throughout this note. In a letter printed in the Introduction to First Douai Diaries, edited by T. F. Knox (referred to as *D.D.*), Dr Allen wrote that priests were not sent to England before they were thirty years old. A Leeds parish register, now lost, began in 1554 and R. Thoresby made some extracts from it relating to the Sykes family, printed in *Thoresby Society Publications* (Th.S.P.), XXVIII; there is no mention of Edmund Sykes which confirms that he was born before 1554.

[2] Yorkshire Wills, Borthwick Institute, York (Yorks. Wills), XX, 118v. and 133, partly printed in Th.S.P., I, 102n, 103n; *see also* Th.S.P., XXVII, 331; *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, II, 43, 289; Th.S.P., IX, 108, and Th.S.P., IX, 144.

[3] *Ibid.*, IX, 108.

[4] *Ibid.*, XIX, 239; XXVII, 331.

[5] A. C. Price, *History of the Leeds Grammar School* (1919), 62.

[6] High Commission Act Books, Borthwick Institute, York, *passim*.

[7] *D.D.*, 116.

went up to Oxford,[8] but there is no trace of him in any printed register. He then returned to Leeds and probably worked with his father. In October 1576 he witnessed the will of his brother Richard, of Kirkgate, Leeds, a clothier, who left to him 'my best jacket, doublet and hose, and twenty shillings in money'.[9] Later the same month he witnessed the will of his brother's wife.[10] and in May the following year his father died.[11]

About two and a half years later Edmund Sykes arrived at the English College, Douai, on 22 January 1580, brought there by Richard Hargrave.[12] He had obviously received his formal education already, for he was ordained sub-deacon 25 May 1580, deacon 15 December 1580 and priest 21 February 1581.[13] On 2 March 1581 he said or sung his first Mass and on 5 June 1581 he was sent to England.[14]

His first visit to England lasted just under four years. 'Being desirous to benefit his country with that talent which God had given him, he came over and lived a very strict and strait life, wandering as a poor pilgrim, [and] coming to Leeds did help many with holy life and doctrine, [and] there fell sick in an extreme ague.'[15] It was during this sickness that he was apprehended in Leeds by Arthur Webster, an apostate, to whose mother Sykes had ministered, taken to York, brought before the Council of the North, and committed to the prison in York known as the Kidcote.[16]

Conditions in prison then are not what now they are, nor was Sykes in good health upon his arrest, and so 'through feebleness and infirmity he went to church yet straight he recalled himself back'. When later he was reminded of this, he replied, 'it was the infirmity of sickness which caused me to go to your service and not for any liking I had of it; the which I have repented and now detest to do it. Neither did I wholly which was required

[8] Fr. Grene's Collecteana F, printed in H. Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (1878), III, 736. For an account of Fr. Grene, *see* Morris (*infra*). III, 3.

[9] Yorks. Wills, XX, 118; Th.S.P., I, 103n.

[10] Yorks. Wills, XX, 135; Th.S.P., I, 104n.

[11] Th.S.P., I, 106.

[12] For a full account of Richard Hargreave, *see* G. T. Bradley, in *Ushaw Magazine*, June 1968, no. 231, pp. 30-1.

[13] *D.D.*, 10, 165, 173, 176.

[14] *D.D.*, 28, 176, 179.

[15] Foley, *op. cit.*, III, 736.

[16] E. H. Burton & J. M. Pollen, *Lives of the English Martyrs*, 2nd series, Vol. I (1914), 275.

or like of your doing'.[17] This suggests that although he attended a protestant service he did not receive the communion.

The Council of the North ordered his banishment and on 23 August 1585 he arrived at the castle of Kingston-upon-Hull and was then transported.[18] The priests banished with him arrived at Douai 7 November 1585,[19] but Sykes made his way directly to Rome. Travelling was so hard that he did not arrive in Rome until 15 April 1586.[20] The reason for this journey to Rome was 'some occasion that happened whilst he was prisoner', namely, his attendance at a protestant service. In Rome, 'as he was praying there in a church he had a revelation which foreshadowed unto him that he should return into England and there receive his crown, for otherwise he determined to enter into a religious habit'.[21] Better weather must have speeded his return for he arrived at Douai on 10 June 1586 and he left for England six days later.[22]

On his return he came again to Yorkshire, to Wath near Ripon, where he worked for slightly under a year. Then he was betrayed again, this time by his own brother, and he was arrested and again taken to York.[23]

The story of his life is then taken up in Dr Champney's *Annals*, written before 1590. The translation runs:

> 'Also at York — 23 March; Edmund Sykes, born of honest parents in the said city of Leeds in the County of York, a priest of Douai college, who after working fruitfully for several years in the vineyard of the Lord, was arrested and kept in an extremely cold and noisome prison, where through his sufferings he acquired patience and learned in what manner to die. For he suffered most severe onslaughts not only from the world and the flesh but from the Prince of Darkness himself, all of whom he triumphantly overcame by the help of Almighty God.
>
> There were other Catholics detained in the same prison, though not in the same cell or dungeon, who heard distinct noises in his cell, as if someone were belabouring him with argument or controversy, whom he reproved and rejected with contempt (as St Athanasius writes of St Anthony). And when afterwards they asked him what it was that they had heard, he told them that he had been worried and

[17] Foley, *op. cit.*, 736.
[18] Ancient Editor's Note Book, printed in Morris, *Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers*, III, 272, 312; York House Books B/29, f. 86.
[19] *D.D.*, 211.
[20] Foley, *op. cit.*, IV, 559.
[21] Foley, *op. cit.*, III, 736.
[22] *D.D.*, 211.
[23] Burton & Pollen, *op. cit.*, 276.

> troubled by an evil spirit which had sought and urged him in various ways to be faithless.'[24]

Two later writers given further details of his captivity: 'he gave himself much to contemplation and prayer, abstinence and discipline; for Wednesday and Friday he used it sharply, with much watching'.[25] He used, 'once every day to prostrate himself half an hour upon the cold ground, to say besides his breviary, weekly the whole psalter, besides many other his prayers and devotions'.[26] It was when he was in prison that he was advised by another priest that 'he should not punish his body any more, being then about to be glorified'.[27]

Dr Champney's account continues:

> 'Afterwards he was summoned before the court and arraigned for high treason in that he had been ordained priest, against the law, and had returned to England, and stayed here. He acknowledged the latter part of the indictment but protested most strongly that anyone was thereby guilty of an offence, but was sentenced. The next day he was hanged, drawn and quartered, and bravely received the martyr's reward.'

His name appears in many early lists of martyrs,[28] and on 9 December 1886 he was formally accorded the title of 'Venerable'.[29]

[24] Anthony Champney, *A History of Queen Elizabeth, civil and religious, ad annum Elizabethae* 31, in Archbishop of Westminster's Archives; not very well translated in Dr Challenor's *Memoir of Missionary Priests* (1874).
[25] Fr. Grene's Collecteana F, printed in Foley, *op. cit.*, III, 736.
[26] Fr. Grene's Collecteana E, printed in Morris, *op. cit.*, 40.
[27] Morris, *op. cit.*, 40.
[28] *Catholic Record Society Publ.*, V, 10.
[29] Burton & Pollen, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

WINTOUN STREET BAPTIST CHURCH, 1870-1895

A Study in Nineteenth-Century Church Dissension

by

R. J. OWEN

IN THE SUMMER OF 1969 an iron chest, on which were inscribed the words 'The Trustees of North St Chapel, Leeds', was discovered during renovations to the Harehills Lane Baptist Church in Leeds. Its existence was known to a few of the older members, but as far as one could ascertain it had remained unopened since the 1920s. No key being available, the lock was forced open, and inside were found documents relating to the General Baptist cause in Leeds.

Among the multitude of documents were many of minor historical value — bills, receipts, correspondence concerning legal matters (particularly with respect to the Land Clauses Consolidation Act of 1845 and the Leeds Improvement Act of 1869), copies of burial certificates and the like. On the other hand, among the more interesting items were early eighteenth-century indentures concerning the purchase of land and property in connection with Call Lane Chapel (the first Nonconformist building erected in Leeds after the 1689 Act of Toleration), minute books of the long-extinct Wintoun Street and North Street General Baptist Churches and the original minute book of the earliest General Baptist cause in Leeds.

The origin of the General Baptist fellowship in Wintoun Street has been dealt with in an earlier article elsewhere.[1] Briefly, the church was formed in 1850 at Call Lane Chapel and until 1865 was ministered to by Jabez Tunnicliff, the founder of the Band of Hope movement. Tunnicliff's successor was William Taylor who had previously been pastor at a church in Stoke-on-Trent. It was during the latter's ministry, in 1870, that the old chapel was demolished for road-widening purposes and a temporary iron

[1] *General Baptist Beginnings in Leeds, 1840-1850, Baptist Quarterly*, XXIII, 1970, pp. 301-10.

structure erected in Wintoun Street, to be replaced three years later by a more comfortable and commodious building.

Nineteenth-century dissension in Nonconformist churches has often been examined and evaluated in terms of discord over policy, polity and principles. Yet whilst controversy over such matters as 'open' Communion, doctrine and church procedure were common in the nineteenth century, a recent study has demonstrated that often dissension was caused predominantly by clashes of personality and dissatisfaction with ministerial and diaconal supervision.[2] In this context, the recently-recovered records of the last twenty-five years of Wintoun Street Baptist Church's existence are fascinating. They reveal much that is worst in Nonconformist history — the pettiness, jealousy and personal animosity amongst members, the arrogant and autocratic behaviour of those in responsible positions within the fellowship. The church at Wintoun Street provides the classic example of a church extinguished by internal discord caused by personal animosities.

The first serious episode of dissension occurred during a meeting of the minister, church secretary and the deacons on 14 July 1870. In the course of a discussion on various subjects, 'in consequence of some very excited remarks made by Mr Todd, Mr Thos. Shaw stated that he should withdraw from the Meeting & from the Cause too & have nothing to do with it anymore. Whereupon Mr Dyall the Secretary (to whom most of Mr Todd's remarks had been addressed) called upon the Rev^{d} W. Taylor to produce & read his (Mr Dyall's) Resignation which he had placed in Mr Taylor's hands previous to the commencement of the meeting & stated that he should abide by it'. Whereupon George Dyall, like Thomas Shaw, left the meeting.

A special church meeting on 4 September appointed a committee, consisting of all the male members of the church, to co-operate with the church's officers in the management of church business. Ostensibly the committee of management was formed because the church's officers were 'so numerically weak', but as three of the four deacons were still in office and the fourth, Thomas Shaw, was soon persuaded to assume office again, the real reason was fear of continued discord amongst the diaconate, depriving it of an ability to supervise efficiently the church's affairs.

After an election of deacons had taken place at the next annual

[2] *The Baptists in the Borough of Leeds during the Nineteenth Century : a Study of Local Church History*, an unpublished thesis in the Library of the University of Leeds by the present writer.

church meeting on 15 December, the pastor, William Taylor, after stating the duties of a deacon, took the unusual step of suggesting that the formal acceptance of office should be delayed for a week or so, after which the deacons should 'state their views as to the office & their intentions as to the mode of conducting themselves'. Whatever intentions were stated, antagonism between Samuel Todd and other deacons continued.

Eventually, at a special church meeting on 27 February 1871, the pastor called upon Todd to retract the remarks he had made at a meeting of the church's officers. The latter refused to do so, whereupon the following resolution was passed unanimously: 'That Bro. Samuel Todd, having made use of language, highly disrespectful to the Officers of this Church, and manifesting a most unchristian spirit towards Bro. G. Dyall, and having on being asked to withdraw the same, emphatically refused to do so, be and hereby is suspended — a. from exercising the office of deacon in this church — b. from attending church meetings and c. from partaking the Lord's Supper until he shall have withdrawn the expressions complained of and manifested contrition for the unchristian spirit he has shown.' However, within ten weeks Todd was restored to all the privileges of membership and to the diaconate by a church resolution, implying that the required apology from him had been obtained.

Dissension during the 'seventies was caused primarily by similar high-handed and inconsiderate actions and attitudes on the part of certain deacons. An Anti-minister element within the diaconate caused unrest in the early years of the decade — it arranged church business meetings without the knowledge of the pastor and in his absence and had resolutions of censure on the pastor passed narrowly by such sparsely attended meetings. After William Taylor had resigned the pastorate and left the ministry — possibly disheartened and disillusioned by recent events — to become a local shopkeeper, further disagreement over the choice of a new minister was evident in which Todd was a central figure.

However, it was in 1877 that schism really rent the church asunder. Following the resignations of the minister and two deacons, a church meeting passed a resolution of 'no confidence' in the remaining four deacons and they were accordingly requested to resign their offices. But they refused. For several months the situation was that the four deacons and their families were alienated from the rest of the fellowship which elected a committee of management to supervise the activities of the church. One of

those four deacons was Todd. His refusal to hand over some church money (which had been invested in a local savings bank in his name) caused a church meeting on 3 September to notify him that 'all necessary proceedings' would be taken to obtain the money although the church would 'be extremely sorry to resort to any other than persuasive means'. Todd's reply to the church secretary was characteristic of the man — dogmatic, unyielding and hard.

38 Park Lane, Leeds
Sept. 6th, 1877

Mr J. Rookledge

Sir,

I duly received yours of this morning & am sorry to see such a bad & unchristian spirit, manifested by the committee, toward me. I have neither money or book belonging to the Church. You must therefore apply to the right persons. And as to your threat about removing my name from the Church Books: If I am rightly informed you have prevented a large number from attending the Chapel already, with your mischievous ways. I think you had better consider *well* before you take such a Step or it might reflect more to your *shame*. But remember, you must call a proper and legal church meeting which I *will* attend & vindicate my course of action — the one you refer to, being improper, & please oblige me with number & names of those present. I am truly sorry Mr Silby,[3] who I understand is about leaving Leeds, should so mislead you, the Committee, but if I have further Communications, or trouble, on this head the Deacons will go with me to Retford and lay before the Chapel and Association Committee his true character, with the whole Correspondence that we have (some of it very disgraceful) & so shew up the man.

Yours indifferently,

S. Todd

P.S. What think you of my threat?

In a further attempt to recover the church money, the committee wrote to the former church secretary, George Rowand. In reply, Rowand described the letter he had received as having an 'offensive and insulting character', although an extant copy of the letter does not give the impression Rowand attributed to it.

[3] Robert Silby was minister of the church from 1873 to 1877.

After denying having any church property in his possession, he added: 'If at any time you have need to correspond with me kindly (nay for God's Sake) write becoming a Christian and a Gentleman.'

Some progress was made at the next church meeting, which took place on 22 October. Todd and Charles Willans (the former church treasurer) admitted that there was £30, plus interest, in a savings bank, but they refused to permit its withdrawal until an election of deacons had taken place. A resolution of censure was accordingly passed on the three ex-deacons — Todd, Willans and Rowand — and their names were erased from the membership roll.

When Todd still refused to hand over the money after a new diaconate had been elected, the church had no option but to put the matter into the hands of a solicitor. The threat of legal action brought the dispute to an end. Todd and Rowand visited the solicitor's office and promised that they would now do anything necessary to transfer the money, whilst Willans surrendered the deposit account book.

For the next few years serious discord was avoided. The prominent personalities who had caused so much trouble had left the church. Again, though, it was a person who had occupied a responsible position within the fellowship who fomented the next period of unrest and ill-feeling. After resigning as church treasurer at the beginning of 1890, owing to his removal to another part of Leeds, George Coleman still had church funds in his possession eight months later. A church meeting decided to give him fourteen days' notice to surrender £10 which rightfully belonged to the church. He acceded to this request, but a general purposes committee (which was managing the church's affairs in lieu of a diaconate) felt compelled to pass a resolution of censure on Coleman, calling upon him not to interfere with church management. At a further committee meeting a fortnight later this resolution was superseded by one which requested the church secretary to write to Coleman, inviting him to join in church work for the general prosperity of the cause. However, at a church meeting shortly afterwards both resolutions concerning Coleman were read out (mainly at the latter's instigation) whereupon 'strong words ensued & the meeting broke up by the pastor pronouncing the Benediction'.

On 25 February 1891 a church committee meeting was held as a result of two of its members having received a letter from Coleman. In this letter Coleman had demanded an apology from the two who had moved and seconded the first resolution which

referred to him. He also threatened legal action if no apology was forthcoming. On discovering that a fellow-member of the committee had revealed their names to Coleman, the two announced their resignation from the committee. The church minute book records: 'A long animated discussion followed, much personal feeling being manifested.' In the event, no further action was taken by Coleman.

Later in the same year both Coleman and John Briggs (the committee member who had made the revelation to Coleman) were again at the centre of controversy. At a committee meeting on 11 August 'a very heated discussion' took place on the question of whether or not Briggs had influenced the church organist to discontinue his services. The meeting closed with Briggs being removed from the committee. Further action was taken at a church meeting in the following December. Both Briggs and Coleman were suspended from church fellowship for making disparaging remarks about the minister (Richard Davies). Nevertheless, they were present at the next church business meeting. Coleman and Briggs were asked to leave the meeting but they declined to do so. Thereupon, the minister pronounced the benediction and closed the meeting, requesting the accredited members to meet him again in fifteen minutes.

At a meeting of the church and congregation on 19 June 1892, Davies reported that Briggs had made a false statement which had no other motive than to damage his character. The unanimous decision of the meeting was that the minister should take such steps as he or his solicitor might deem necessary. Later that month, owing to his prior conduct as well as to recent charges which 'he has failed to substantiate', Briggs was expelled from membership.[4]

For two years some measure of harmony appears to have been present within the fellowship, but strife was renewed in 1894. The resolutions suspending Coleman and expelling Briggs were rescinded and Lindon Partridge (who had become co-pastor five months earlier following a successful mission he had conducted at the church) stated his intention never again to work with or have his name associated with Davies. It was decided to ask the latter to resign.[5]

[4] The reasons for his expulsion are stated in the minutes of the church meeting of 30 June 1892.

[5] Details of all these resolutions can be found in the minutes of the church meeting of 11 July 1894. On the secretary resigning his office after a resolution requesting Davies to resign had been passed, Coleman was appointed to the vacant office. A reversal of esteem indeed!

The next four months witnessed most disgraceful and disturbing scenes. Davies refused to resign and appeared, together with his solicitor, at a church meeting on 25 July. He acted as chairman, announcing the opening hymn, but the members present took no notice of him and the hymn was not sung. A resolution was passed which asked the solicitor to leave as the meeting had been convened only for church members and church business. However, Davies retorted that his solicitor would not leave as the latter was present at his request. A resolution was then carried by a large majority empowering the deacons to seek legal advice over Davies's conduct. As the members refused to deal with any further business until after the solicitor had left, Davies 'made an attempt to pronounce the benediction amongst general confusion also stating that he dismissed that meeting for a month'.

At the next monthly church meeting, after considering Davies's conduct in bringing his quarrel with Partridge into the local Police Court and taking an oath that he was in fear of bodily harm from Partridge, in introducing his solicitor to a church meeting and insisting upon him remaining despite protests by the members, and in his general defiance of the wishes of the church, Davies was dismissed from the pastorate of the church by 27 votes to 3. Another resolution requested the trustees to close the Chapel 'in consequence of the unseemly and disgraceful conduct of the congregation' on the previous Sunday, when Davies had announced from the pulpit that he was being forced to resign.[6] In fact the Chapel was not opened again until six months had elapsed.

Unfortunately, friction continued, as an account of the church meeting on 24 September reveals:

> 'The above was a very disorderly Meeting. Mr Davies sat in the Chair declaring himself the pastor of the Church. Said that it was his turn now and he should speak as long as he liked and in strong stentorious tones dared anyone to interrupt him. Mr Partridge was eventually voted to the Chair — but remained in his seat on the form. Mr Davies attacked 1st Mr Bexon, then Mr Partridge, bringing charges against both which were emphatically denied by both. A great deal of confusion and babble was caused by one George Harrison who supported Mr Davies. He booed and talked at a great rate first at one and then another without being in any way remonstrated with or restrained by the Rev. R. Davies. Mr Davies called upon Mr Guess

[6] In a letter to Davies from the church secretary dated 18 August 1894, it is stated: "You are therefore under the absolute necessity of filling the arrangement made through your solicitor this morning to resign the pastorate of the church and announce the same in the manner therein set forth at each service tomorrow the 19th inst."

> to lead the meeting in prayer but the confusion and the unchrist-like manner in which the whole deportment of Mr Davies and others was exhibited more than anything else convinced the Church of the necessity for the adoption of the most stringent resolution and it was Mr Davies's total disregard for the honours and respect of the Church Meeting that more than once decided the Church Members to give their vote against Mr Davies.

By 20 votes to 3 Davies was then excluded from church membership.

The church never recovered from this schism. The sad episode not only resulted in the dismissal of both Davies and Partridge (a step made inevitable by the findings and recommendations of the Yorkshire Baptist Association's Committee of Investigation) and the temporary closure of the Chapel, but also in the termination of the cause. The church's local image and reputation had been tarnished indelibly. Dissension, and its consequences — a diminishing membership and an increasing debt — made extinction certain. At a church meeting on 23 June 1895, it was resolved to invite the other Leeds General Baptist Church, at North Street, to join with Wintoun Street. In a letter to their fellow-Baptists the church agreed that such an amalgamation 'virtually means for you to take over the full management and control of the place by your own Pastor & Deacons'.[7] On 5 January 1896 the decision was taken to 'disband & dissolve' the church immediately, and the North Street Baptists were authorised to take over the premises.[8]

The church at Wintoun Street was never strong. It began in obscurity, but with hope and with a challenge. It ended in obscurity, but with dissension and with dismay. It constitutes the classic example of a nineteenth-century church extinguished by disharmony and debt. With the loss of members after each serious dispute, the burden on remaining members became heavier. Its struggle against debt was heroic. Its surrender to internal discord was deplorable. The recently-recovered records of this local church are not pleasant reading. They demonstrate some of the worst aspects of human nature and must surely testify to the unfortunate impression of organised Christianity which Leeds residents in that neighbourhood must have gained from the closing years of Wintoun Street Baptist Church's existence.

[7] Letter of I. Bexon to the minister and deacons of North Street Baptist Church, dated 27 June 1895.

[8] North Street Baptist Church closed down in 1923 and its premises were purchased by Jews and converted into a synagogue. Most of its members joined Harehills Lane Baptist Church, where the minute books of the Wintoun Street and North Street churches are still kept.

THE RISE OF JAMES KITSON : TRADES UNION AND MECHANICS INSTITUTION, LEEDS, 1826-1851

by

R. J. MORRIS

THE CAREER OF JAMES KITSON, born Leeds, 1807, was one of those spectacular examples of upward social mobility of which early industrial society was so proud. His success seemed to justify the confident assertion of his friend Samuel Smiles, 'The instances of men, in this and other countries, who, by dint of persevering application and energy, have raised themselves from the humblest ranks of industry to eminent positions of usefulness and influence in society, are indeed so numerous that they have long since ceased to be regarded as exceptional'.[1]

James was the son of Thomas Kitson, a licensed victualler, the publican of the Brunswick Tavern in Camp Road. This lay between North Street and Woodhouse Lane in North Leeds. James received an elementary school education, and was then apprenticed in a dye works, working at the same time in the tavern. If his apprenticeship had run the conventional span, 14 to 21 years old, it would have lasted from 1821 to 1828, and so it was natural that 1828 was the year in which he married Ann Newton, the daughter of a local painter and decorator. Kitson was one of the many small tradesmen on the social border line between the middle and working classes. In 1835 he moved to Hunslet, and founded a small engineering business which prospered and grew in the railway building booms of the late thirties and the eighteen forties.[2] His partners were David Laird, a Scots farmer who supplied the capital finance, and Charles Todd who seems to have been an apprentice of Matthew Murray, the steam engine builder at the Round Foundry in Holbeck.[3] It was a partnership of financial resources, technical skill and managerial ability common

[1] Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help*, London 1858 (1968 edition), 39; J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living, 1790-1960*, London (1961), 211-12.
[2] Edwin Kitson Clark, *Kitsons of Leeds, 1837-1947*, London 1938.
[3] E. K. Scott, *Matthew Murray*, Leeds 1928.

to many industrial revolution enterprises.[4] The first locomotive was delivered in 1838, and they built for the North Midland, and the Liverpool and Manchester. After losses in the 1840-42 slump, Kitson began a new 16 year partnership, Kitson, Thompson and Hewitson, which was the basis of an expanding business making locomotives and a wide range of engineering goods for home and foreign markets. It was typical of the general engineering shops of the eighteen forties and fifties.[5] This prosperity was the base on which Kitson prepared the influential position his family held in local liberal party politics at the end of the century.[6] There is a full account of the life of James Kitson the First in Edwin Kitson Clark's story of the firm, but it deserves further attention for two reasons. Kitson's rise was closely associated with his membership of the Mechanics Institute in the manner which the patrons and founders of the Institutes had always promised their members. In 1837, Plint, the secretary of the Leeds Institute, echoed ideas which Brougham had circulated in the 1820s: 'If the mechanics and small tradesmen of Leeds knew all the advantages and all the pleasing entertainment the Mechanics Institute presents — if they knew as we do, how many persons this Institution has raised surprisingly in the scale of society — the Institution would soon be filled to overflowing.'[7] The second reason is a remarkable survey of members of Leeds Mechanics Institute made in 1835 by Frederic Hill.[8] This and a few scattered references to Kitson in the local papers provide an insight into Kitson's early activities and contacts, so we can trace the effect of economic success on his social behaviour.

I

Evidence about Kitson's life before the move to Hunslet is slender and often circumstantial, but it is enough to make a coherent picture which contrasts sharply with the prospering engineer of the 1840s. At the end of 1831, his name appeared

[4] Sidney Pollard, *The Genesis of Modern British Management*, London 1965, 150-1, sees this as a way of bringing management skills into a firm in return for a share of the capital.

[5] J. B. Jeffreys, *The Story of the Engineers, 1800-1945*, London 1946, 53.

[6] A. W. Roberts, "Leeds liberalism and late Victorian politics", *Northern History*, 5 (1960), 131.

[7] *Leeds Mercury*, 16 September 1837; "Practical Observations upon the Education of the People", 1835, from *Speeches of Henry Lord Brougham*, Vol. iii, Edinburgh 1837, 119-20.

[8] F. Hill, *National Education : its present state and prospects*, London 1836, Vol. II, 195-229.

on a requisition to the mayor of Leeds, William Hey, asking for a public meeting to support Sadler's Ten Hours Bill then before parliament.[9] This meeting was one of a series held that December to support Sadler. They brought together the Short Time committees formed earlier that summer, and the Anglican Tories led by Oastler and Sadler, who saw the Ten Hours movement as a way of limiting the power of Whig manufacturers and gaining working class support for the Church and the Tories.[10] Through the Leeds Short Time Committee the movement was loosely associated with the Trades Unions then growing in power in the Leeds area through the Gott strike. The Short Time leaders, Ralph Taylor and John Hammond appear on the requisition.[11] Through the Sadler political connection, the movement was associated with the Anglican Church and the Tory party. Richard Fawcett, the vicar, headed the list which included Tory leader Robert Hall and Tory newspaper editor Robert Perring. Kitson's life reflected some of these associations. The account of him in *Kitsons of Leeds* mentions his part in the life of the Parish Church and his interest in church music. He remained an Anglican well into the 1830s for his name appeared in a subscription for additional church accommodation in Leeds. James Kitson of the Brunswick Tavern gave £1. 1s., a small but respectable sum from the Anglican publican. The subscription resulted in the building of St George's church, Mount Pleasant, which was opened in 1838 for the expanding and respectable middle class population of NW Leeds and Little Woodhouse.[12] Kitson does not seem to have been a Tory. As a publican and an Anglican all the pressures were for him to vote Tory, but Kitson tended to be distinctive in his political behaviour, as instanced by his vote for Brougham in 1834, when most Liberals (whom he had joined by now) supported Baines. He may have been one of the minority of churchmen and publicans who were liberal — more likely he called himself a radical and owed allegiance to neither of the main power blocks.[13] Signing the requisition did not imply that he was a Tory for in

[9] *Leeds Mercury*, 31 December 1831.

[10] J. T. Ward, *The Factory Movement, 1830-1855*, London 1962, 30-84; "Alfred" (i.e. Samuel H. G. Kydd), *The History of the Factory Movement*, London 1857 (reprint, New York, 1966), 214-15.

[11] J. T. Ward, *op. cit.*, 57 and 106; in Yorkshire the link was not so close as in Lancashire.

[12] *Leeds Mercury*, 27 February and 28 May 1831.

[13] J. R. Vincent, *Pollbooks, how Victorians Voted*, Cambridge 1967, 122-3; In the Leeds Election 1834, 25 publicans were Liberal and 47 Tory.

December 1831 the Ten Hours debate had not completely polarized on party lines. The requisition included 17 men who were to vote for Marshall and Macaulay in 1832, as against 25 who voted for Sadler. There were 23 men who had no vote in 1832, an indication of the support which came from those without that mark of middle class status, the £10 property qualification. James Kitson had a vote in 1832, registered at his house and brewhouse in Jacob's Well, but he did not use it.[14]

The evidence for Kitson's links with the Trades Unions was not so clear. After the defeat of the Unions by the employers in 1834, *Mercury* recorded the dissolution of the cloth dressers at the Brunswick Tavern, Camp Road.[15] Now, Kitson had worked as a dyer, and done his apprenticeship in that trade. The dyers were an important part of the manufacturing labour force, noted for intemperance and dissipation.[16] Their wages were a little above average but the work tended to be seasonal, just the mixture to encourage recourse to the comforts of drink. They worked for the master dyers in small dyeshops along the Timble Beck in east and north east Leeds. The Beck ran just the other side of North Street from the Brunswick Tavern, so their old workmate's public house would be a convenient meeting place for the dyers. The *Mercury* referred to cloth dressers but it is likely that this referred to the Society of Stuff Singers, Dyers, Pressers and Finishers, which had 550 members centred on Leeds in the 1831-34 period. The different branches of the finishing end of the textile trades always seem to have joined together for trades union purposes.[17] When the evidence from the Mechanics Institute is examined it will further strengthen Kitson's association with the Trades Unions, an association which was consistent with his appearance in the Ten Hours requisition, and in the section of that requisition which contained the names of the Short Time committee.

In the first half of the 19th century the public house provided a meeting place for many organizations, for trades unions, political

[14] *The Poll Book of the Leeds Borough Election*, Leeds 1833.

[15] *Leeds Mercury*, 21 June 1834.

[16] Robert Baker, "Report upon the condition of the town of Leeds and of its inhabitants, by a statistical committee of the Town Council, October 1839", *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. 2 (1839), 397; Robert Baker, *On the state and condition of the Town of Leeds in the West Riding of York*, London 1842.

[17] G. D. H. Cole, *Attempts at General Union, 1818-1834*, London 1953, 84; S. & B. Webb, *History of Trades Unionism*, London 1894, 423, notes examples of the grouping of the finishing trades in the same union from later in the century.

groups, sports and other social groups, but for the small tradesman and prosperous artisan and operative, the most important and numerous organizations which met in the public house were the Friendly Societies.[18] It was inevitable then that Kitson should have been involved with a Friendly Society, and characteristic of him as an individual that he took a leading part in organizing and developing one part of the Friendly Society movement. The Royal Order of Foresters had started in Leeds in 1790, and spread into Lancashire and Cheshire. By some fault in the constitution, the supreme court based in Leeds was able to claim despotic powers over meetings and rules. The Royal Foresters court 'Perseverence' met at the Brunswick Tavern and was actively recruiting members in the early 1830s. Although the supreme court was in Leeds, Kitson must have shared the growing irritation with its claim for total power over the Order, and in 1834 he was an active supporter of the secession which resulted in the formation of the Ancient Order of Foresters. He travelled to Rochdale where the first break-away delegate meeting was held — the Royal Order had insisted that all delegate meetings should be in Leeds. Kitson became head of the executive council formed for Leeds and high chief ranger of the new order.[19] His interest in continuing his education after leaving school may have arisen from his friendly society activities. The Brunswick Tavern organized 'lectures' on Sunday afternoons, showing the sort of interest in general education which was served by the articles in the *Foresters' Miscellany* which began in 1836.[20]

The Leeds Mechanics Institution was founded in 1824, and James Kitson joined some time in 1825 or 1826.[21] He was still working as a dyer at this time, and his father Thomas was the publican at the Brunswick.[22] Leeds was one of the big town Mechanics Institutes which were dominated by a committee of middle class patrons, men who supplied money but took little part in day to day activities. In Leeds this was symbolized by the two types of membership; the members were required to pay

[18] John Dunlop, *The Philosophy of Artificial and Compulsory Drinking Usages in Great Britain and Ireland*, London 1839, 247-9.

[19] *A short history of the chief affiliated Friendly Societies*, reprinted from the *Leeds Express*, 1879-80; Ancient Order of Foresters, "The Beginning", reproduced from the *Foresters' Miscellany*, 1923.

[20] E. Kitson-Clark, *op. cit.*; P. H. J. H. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-75*, Manchester 1961, 153-4.

[21] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 February 1845.

[22] William Parson, *General and Commercial Directory of the Borough of Leeds*, 1826.

£2 on joining and 10s. a year; in fact many members paid much more; the subscribers paid 10s. a year, and were excluded from the election of the committee, although half the committee were working man members chosen from the subscribers.[23] This later section was intended for working men but included many clerks and tradesmen like Kitson himself, who had become a working man member of the committee by 1829. The term 'working man member' does not mean he was or was not a member of the working class, it merely signifies the type of membership he had paid for.[24] When the policy makers of the Institute in the early 1830s reflected on the troubled background of trades union disputes, Ten Hours agitation and parliamentary reform, with the aggressive election of 1832 which followed, they felt that the influence of the Mechanics Institute on the situation was beneficial and calming. Dr Williamson claimed in 1832:

> 'Political events had given an unusual excitement to the thinking powers of the great mass of society, the right direction of which depended chiefly on the adoption of an extensive system of instruction. (Cheers.) He was quite persuaded that many who were formerly filled with mistaken apprehension as to the progress of mental cultivation (which was yet so lamentably defective in this country) were beginning to perceive that our only safety now consisted in the employment of well regulated plans of popular instruction.'[25]

Despite this claim the Leeds Institute lost money and support in the months that followed. At the Annual General Meeting in 1835, Dr Hunter explained:

> 'that a variety of circumstances had prevented them from holding the annual meeting last year: they had partly been induced to delay by the hope of raising funds for a building, and partly by a great degree of political and local excitement, and a prejudice (which he believed to be quite unfounded) in the minds of many against the Institution on account of the Trades Unions'.[26]

Whatever Dr Hunter may have believed about the links between the Unions and the Institute, Frederic Hill got a different picture from the questionnaire he sent to George Thurnell, the drawing master at the Institute. Thurnell told Hill —

> 'The most promising young man that the Institution has trained became secretary to the Short Time Committee, which committee

[23] M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851*, Manchester 1957.
[24] *Annual Report of the Leeds Mechanics Institution*, Leeds 1829.
[25] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 September 1832.
[26] *Leeds Mercury*, 28 November 1835.

> succeeded in getting the last factory act; but I believe the temporary elevation will prove to him a permanent fall.'

This sounds very like Ralph Taylor. Thurnell continued,

> 'The other a very active and intelligent member, in a note to me vindicating his conduct, thus writes: "I was elected by my fellow-workmen to fill a situation of importance in a trades union, whose object was to prevent a reduction in wages, and to obtain a more perfect equalization of them amongst the artizans employed in the dyeing and finishing of stuff goods".'[27]

This was almost without doubt Kitson. It was the union which met at the Brunswick, the character sketch fitted the man who took a major part in organizing the Ancient Order of Foresters' breakaway, and such an identification links Kitson with Ralph Taylor, a possibility already suggested by their names occurring together on the Ten Hours requisition. Kitson had joined the Institution to increase his knowledge of steam power and the working of other mechanical equipment. The firm's history suggests that his interest in steam engines and their commercial possibilities was confirmed by reading Nicholas Wood, *Practical Treatise on Railroads*, and shows that by the mid 1830s he was considering turning his energies to setting up an engineering business. If this was all true and the Mechanics Institution did succeed in diverting Kitson's attention from the network of trades union and radical organizations which met at the Brunswick, then these organizations were certainly denied the services of a very skilled and able leader.

In 1835 James Kitson was among those who replied to the questions Frederic Hill put to members of Leeds Mechanics Institute. Kitson's answers showed that he had accepted much of the teaching of the Mechanics Institute movement. His answers were doubtless designed to please his questioner. Modern survey experience has shown that respondents will bias their answers in the direction they think the question wants, and Hill's question pattern was one which invited the answers. But Kitson after the chastening experience with the defeated unions was probably ready to accept the Institutes' ideas. He had joined the Institute 'to become better informed',

> 'I had obtained an ordinary day school education, as a knowledge of the simple rules of arithmetic, but was completely ignorant of the most simple parts of philosophy. I knew that steam caused the steam engine to work, but I did not know how or why; I knew that the

[27] F. Hill, *op. cit.*, 221.

> pump caused water to rise out of a well, but I also believed that it was through the agency of suction, and I thought its power was unlimited as to extent.'

He felt he had learned about 'the otherwise hid operations of his business'; the Leeds Institute had a flourishing chemistry class from which he could have learnt more about the brewing process.

> 'The knowledge I have obtained I consider has more than recompensed me for the time and expense I have been put to; and I consider myself bound on that account to give my support to mechanics institutions as long as I am able, in order that I may discharge the debt I owe society.'

It was curiosity rather than a direct desire for economic advancement that drew Kitson to the Mechanics. Some of his customers were evidently hostile to the notion of the Institute; he suffered

> 'from the prevalent opinion that machinery is detrimental to the interests of the working classes, some have withheld their support, I know, from me in my trade as an innkeeper, under the idea that, as I am a member of a mechanic's institution, I must be favourable to the introduction of machinery, and consequently, according to their mistaken notion, an enemy to them. But that is an opinion that is fast wearing away'.[28]

When Hill asked him if the Institute had kept him from 'temptations of extravagance and intemperance', Kitson replied —

> 'I have always found more pleasure when my mind has been engaged in scientific pursuits (which my connexion with the Mechanics Institutions led me to), than either in the company of bacchanalians, or by the contemplation of any advantage to be obtained by unnecessary or showy apparel or furniture.'

If the Institution's patrons like James Williamson and Adam Hunter had been alarmed by the links with the Trades Unions in 1832-1834, they would have been pleased by the view of social structure which Kitson held in 1835, which echoed perfectly the message which Brougham and his followers had attempted to convey,

> 'I have been taught that though a man may be obliged to fill a humble station in society, yet that he still possesses the power of attaining all the real blessings of life'

and he looked sharply to the wealthy members of Leeds society to provide money and patronage.

> 'A very great many who from their station in society ought to be among the patrons of mechanics institutions, are jealous of the labouring classes getting more information than they like to be at the trouble of obtaining, and consequently making them look rather awkward.'[29]

[28] F. Hill, *op. cit.*, 221.
[29] F. Hill, *op. cit.*, 222.

Here Kitson seems to be clearly identifying himself with the 'labouring classes', although 'in his trade as an innkeeper' he was owning and managing capital in the characteristic middle class manner. Like many small shopkeepers and tradesmen he took his class identity from his customers rather than from his relationship with capital and property.

II

The importance of Kitson's views and the actions he was to take in the 1830s can only be understood against the background of the parliamentary reform agitation and local party politics, of the Ten Hours campaign and trades union activities.

During the Reform Act agitation, the upper middle class urban Whigs, men like Baines, Marshall and Samuel Clapham, operated through the Leeds Association for promoting within the County of York the free return of fit representatives. The members of this body were a small select group which worked in private to further their political aims. They were able to co-operate with the Leeds Political Union led by the Hunslet manufacturer Joshua Bower and the school-teacher Joseph Lees. This organization had a broader base in the lower ranks of the middle class and large-scale working class support. This class co-operation was furthered by an elected committee which had separate places for middle class and working class membership and by mass meetings. This co-operation was challenged by the Huntite Radical Political Union of James Mann, the publisher and bookseller. The 1832 Act was followed by a bitter election battle between Sadler and the two Whigs, Macaulay and Marshall. The Tory was defeated but not without the support of street scuffles and demonstrations from working class radicals and Ten Hours supporters who had been cheated of the vote by the £10 limit.[30] Since the early 1820s tension between the two middle class parties, the Whigs and Tories, had been high in Leeds as the Whigs, based on new manufacturing wealth and the old nonconformist chapel families, had challenged the power bases established by the Tories, merchants and churchmen, in the 18th century. Party conflict had spread into the parish vestry, poor

[30] *Leeds Mercury*, 1830-1832; A. Briggs, "The background of the parliamentary reform movement in three English cities", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, Vol. X (1952), 293; D. Fraser, *Politics in Leeds, 1830-1852*, Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1969, 39-49; A. S. Tuberville, "Leeds and Parliamentary Reform, 1820-1832", *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vol. 41 (1954), 1-88.

law affairs and the improvement commissioners.[31] When Oastler had brought the working conditions of the factory children to public attention in 1830, the *Leeds Mercury* had given him a cautious welcome, but as it became clear that Oastler would not accept as adequate the gestures of goodwill most factory owners were prepared to make, then Baines became angry and cut the 'intemperant language' from his letters on 'Yorkshire slavery'. This gave Robert Perring the chance to come out in full support of the factory movement, so gaining for the Tory *Intelligencer* a new weapon to attack its old enemy the *Mercury*.[32] Support of the regulation of factory children's working hours suited the Tory mind, uneasy at the rigorous application of political economy and Malthusian ideas that the power of the manufacturing Whigs seemed to imply.[33] By the election of 1832 the Tories were openly courting working class support for Sadler on the factory issue. just as a few months earlier the Whigs had sought that support over parliamentary reform.

This was the political background to industrial conflict. This conflict too had a double mood. There was a residue of co-operation between the small master clothier and the journeyman, a recognition of common interest. But dominant was bitter opposition to the effects of technical change and the new ethic of competition. The recent fall of the independent hand loom weavers was reflected in the confused master employee relationships. Rapid changes in technology, industrial organization and product, made traditional work and wage relationships irrelevant. There was the increasing use of machinery and as woollen cloth became finer, the old scale of piece rates no longer gave an adequate wage as each piece took a longer time to weave.[34] The hostility and tension arising from these changes provided the motivation and the mass support for the trades unions. The power of the trades unions was established in Leeds by a nine month strike which forced Benjamin Gott and Sons to raise wages. In February 1831, 238 weavers in Gott's two mills at Armley and Bean Ing struck work. They wanted the restoration of a 15% cut in wages, which had been agreed in the

[31] D. Fraser, The Leeds Churchwardens, 1828-1850, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, Vol. 53 (1970), 1-22.

[32] Cecil Driver, *Tory Radical, the life of Richard Oastler*, Oxford (1946), 36-139.

[33] H. J. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880*, London (1969), 229, notes Tory opposition to the entrepreneurial ideal of competition.

[34] *S.C. appointed to examine the petitions from the Hand Loom Weavers*, Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 1834, Vol. X, 475.

depression of 1826. They claimed this would bring Gott's wage list up to the level of other manufacturers. Gott claimed his list was comparable to other firms and that the rise demanded would amount to 25% and drive weaving out of Leeds.[35] In May Gott tried to bring in weavers from outside to restart the looms. The strike, which had started in an orderly fashion, now became violent. There was fighting outside the mill, and weavers working for Gott were beaten up along Briggate and Marsh Lane, and others forced from their homes.[36] The strike was sustained by members of the Union still in work, working for other manufacturers. Public subscriptions were collected indicating a wide area of general support for the Union's action. In October, the officers of the weavers' committee were called to the Guildford Street counting house and granted the rise demanded.[37] The Union had beaten the most powerful firm in the industry. They won because other woollen manufacturers were prepared to let Gott's fight the strike alone. Many were believed to welcome the damage done to their powerful rival.[38] In mid 1831 the weavers added to their strength by recruiting other sections of the woollens labour force, principally the finishing end which included the dyers. The Union officers consolidated victory by taking their list of wages from one manufacturer to another. In the first eight months of 1832 each firm was picked out individually and none chose to fight a battle which Gott had lost. The officers working under the name of 'John Powlett' announced they would prevent competition between manufacturers driving down the level of wages, and despite the slack trade of that year they gained advances from many firms.[39]

Union activity among the stuff weavers of the Bank took a different course. The weaving of stuffs or worsteds was a lower wage occupation, mainly done by Irish immigrants.[40] It was a trade with closer relationships between masters and men, small employers with a few more substantial firms. Relationships alter-

[35] The Strike, 1831, statements to show the wages that had been paid and the disorganization the strike caused, from the Gott papers in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (MS 193/203-206).

[36] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 May 1831.

[37] *Leeds Intelligencer*, 6 October 1831.

[38] (H. C. Tufnell), *Character, object and effect of Trades Unions*, reprinted with a foreword by Walter Citrine, Manchester (1933), 48-50 and 88.

[39] *Leeds Mercury*, 11 February to 28 August 1832; G. D. H. Cole, *op. cit.*, 55-65.

[40] *Reports from the Assistant Hand Loom Weaver Commissioners*, Part III, Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 1840, Vol. XVIII.

nated between co-operation and conflict with great rapidity. In February 1831, a petition was presented to parliament protesting against the increase of the power loom. Joseph Cunliffe believed the power loom 'is calculated to reduce middle and lower manufacturers to the level of workmen, it is calculated to deprive the workmen of their means of support'. Although there was a hint of conflict between large and small firms, the meeting was one in which the chairman was Eli Whiteley, head of one of the largest firms, and one speaker was Patrick Reardon, officer of the Union. Yet in June the stuff weavers Irish and English alike struck for higher wages. Some of the smaller employers granted this early but the two largest firms, James Green and Eli Whiteley, made a short resistance before conceding.[41] In January 1833, Green lowered his list of wages again, and after a violent strike the stuff weavers went back to work at the end of March. The power of the Unions suffered its first defeat among the stuff weavers. The unions were vulnerable in this section of industry because the stuff trade was dominated by the two large employers, the men had lower wages than the woollen weavers and hence smaller reserves, and the large proportion of Irish weavers weakened Union solidarity because the Catholic priests opposed joining the Union.[42]

It was not until 1833 that the employers were able to offer any effective opposition to the powerful woollen committee and then it was Kitson's associates in the dyeing trade who bore the full brunt of the first attack on union strength. In July the master dyers locked out all Trades Union members from their workshops. Soon afterwards the masters signed a bond for £500 to be forfeit by any one of them employing union men. Because of the increase of violence and intimidation, the masters appealed to parliament, but the Home Secretary merely advised them to enforce the existing law with increased vigour. Although the masters filled most of the places left by the lock-out by August when they imported unemployed dyers from Norwich, the violence and hostility of the Union men continued throughout the winter.

'The West Riding of Yorkshire Society of Mill Owners and Manufacturers for the encouragement and protection of trade' was formed in Leeds in October, 1833. A bond for £500 was signed

[41] *Leeds Mercury*, 20 February and 5 to 26 June, 1830.

[42] *See* J. H. Treble, "The attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards Trades Unionism in the North, 1833-1842", *Northern History*, Vol. 5 (1970), 93; R. J. Morris, "The First Urban Immigrant : The Irish in England, 1830-1850", *The Institute of Race Relations Newsletter*, Vol. 3 (1969), 133.

at the meeting but was not to operate until masters employing 2,000 horse power were on the list.[43] In May, 1834, the employers were ready with an effective lock-out of the weavers. The reduction of the Unions caused more violence than their rise to power. At the start of the lock-out, the magistrates recruited 300 special constables, anticipating trouble from the 'frequent assemblages of immense numbers of men connected with the trades unions'.[44] Few men were willing to sign the document at first. In the first weeks of the lock-out the Union gave two to three shillings strike pay each week at meetings on Woodhouse and Hunslet Moors. The employers were prevented from replacing the Union men with others by an undercurrent of picketing, assault, window breaking and by the crowds which appeared to baa the black sheep wherever they were seen in the streets. In the second week of June the Union officers advised the men to sign the document and return to work. Funds had run out because there were no weavers in work to sustain the strike pay.

For a short time the Union committee gained the power to take important social decisions, on rates of pay and conditions of work and recruitment. They gained this power 'because the manufacturers are a disunited body not merely from the jealousy of the commercial world but because the operations of the Union affect them differently'.[45] The Unions wanted to control but not to change the organisation of industry. The Leeds men met the delegates of the National Association for the Protection of Labour and heard John Doherty. They held in common with the Owenites a hatred of the results of competition, but took little notice of Owenite plans for a revolutionary change to co-operative production or any other form of society. Although the Trades Union press might bolster up solidarity by hate articles against the employers, the Union Officers consistently claimed to the middle class press that their sole aim was justice from all employers. They wanted to prevent competition at home undercutting 'the respectable manufacturers who pay those in their employment so as to enable them to live in comparative ease and comfort'.[46] Among the stuff weavers, James Cunliffe believed, 'the whole community

[43] *Leeds Mercury*, 5 October 1833.

[44] Benjamin Sadler, mayor of Leeds to the Secretary of State, 15 May 1834, in P.R.O. H.O. 52/25, Correspondence Municipal and Provincial, 1834; Benjamin Sadler to Lord Harewood, 15 May 1834, in the Lieutenancy Papers in the Harewood collection, Leeds City Archives.

[45] *Leeds Mercury*, 10 November 1832.

[46] *Leeds Mercury*, 20 October 1832.

ought to be considered as one family — the governors whoever they are composed of, forming the head . . . the head of the family ought certainly to take into consideration and relieve the suffering part'.[47] James Kitson grew up as the workmate and then publican of a labouring class, which accepted inequality and believed in class co-operation, but only if the employer and the wealthy classes fulfilled their obligation which was to take care of the poorer wage earning sections of the community. A man who accepted this viewpoint of society would readily accept the the patronage of the wealthy in the Mechanics Institution, once he saw that the wealthy were prepared to provide the finance and the teaching he wanted.

III

With this background in mind it can be seen that men like James Kitson had a crucial role to play in the developments of the 1830s. He was in a social no-man's land in a class war that centred on Trades Union and Chartist demands. He was the friend, host and possibly secretary to a Union which for a short time gave effective leadership to a section of the working class in conflict with employers over wages. Yet at the same time he had a vote under the 1832 parliamentary franchise that was designed to give power only to the middle class, and he managed his own capital and property. In the conflict between the two urban middle class political parties Whig and Tory, both courting the support of tradesmen, mechanics, operatives and other labouring class groups. Kitson was also on the margin. His involvement with the Anglican Church and Ten Hours movement would attract him to the Tories, whilst his interest in the Mechanics Institute and the spread of education would attract him to the Whigs. His voting record showed him slowly moving towards a position of middle class Whig-Liberalism.

1832 did not use his vote.

1834 voted for Baines, the local Whig candidate.

1835 failed to vote for Baines the successful Whig but voted for Brougham, a Whig outsider, associated with popular education; Brougham was not elected.

1837 Baines and Molesworth.

1841 Hume and Aldam.

[47] *Leeds Mercury*, 10 February 1830.

In both elections showing full support for the Liberal-Whig alliance.

1847 Beckett and Marshall; a vote for the Whig-Tory alliance against the voluntary education party.[48]

So after hesitating in the early 1830s Kitson adopted an orthodox liberal position in the 1840s. An examination of the small-time politics of north west ward showed Kitson being drawn into Liberal Party activities. After Baines's election in 1834, the ward dinner was held at the Brunswick.[49] When the Municipal constitution was changed in 1835 by the Municipal Corporation Act opening voting to all ratepayers, the Brunswick Reform Association was formed. The Brunswick Tavern became the meeting place for the ward party.[50] Its landlord was a ward canvasser for Matthew Gaunt in November 1835, and when Gaunt was re-elected councillor in 1836, the ward dinner was held at the Tavern, with Mr Cadman in the chair, and a music master called Charles Cummins to assist him. Among the guests were the élite of the Whig-Liberal alliance in Leeds, Thomas William Tottie, Edward Baines, M.P., and George Goodman.[51] In December 1836, the ward party agreed to support Baines as candidate for the coming election, a decision the landlord was to ignore.[52] Almost as soon as the network of trades union and Ten Hours associations had been broken, they had been replaced by the small ward meetings of the Liberal party. Kitson undoubtedly had good business motives for supporting a party which brought such custom to his public house, but in a town where political views were strongly held, politics and business were often one and the same.

In 1837, James Kitson moved to Hunslet and established the engineering business which was the basis of his increasing wealth and social prestige. In 1845 he told the Mechanics Institute, 'he might put himself before the meeting as an example of the good which had been conferred by the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, for had it not been for that Institution, of which he had been a member for nineteen years, he felt that his position might have

[48] *Poll Books of the Leeds Borough Elections, 1832-47* : for the background to each election see D. Fraser, *Politics in Leeds, 1830-1852*, Leeds Ph.D. thesis, 1969.

[49] *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March 1834.

[50] *Leeds Mercury*, 11 June 1836, recorded the first anniversary.

[51] *Leeds Mercury*, 26 November 1836; Matthew Gaunt was a Liberal Anglican solicitor, thus religion as well as politics would give him contact with the landlord of the Brunswick.

[52] *Leeds Mercury*, 3 December 1836.

been in many respects worse than it was now'.[53] Kitson without doubt owed a lot to the Mechanics, but he was fortunate in many ways. First he had a small amount of capital in the form of the public house and its business, this together with his growing knowledge of steam power, would be a small contribution towards a potential partnership. He entered the engineering industry just at the start of the railway boom of 1837, a time when the industry was expanding, creating opportunities for new men to make profits as demand for locomotives and fittings increased. The engineering industry was part of the legend of industrial revolution social mobility, and the engineers were chosen for special attention by Samuel Smiles, but even in this section of industry Kitson was exceptional. When the steel manufacturers of 1865 are studied, only 3%, including Kitson, were sons of retail tradesmen, another 4% came from the families of clerks or independent craftsmen, and 4% from families of skilled and unskilled workers.[54] The vast majority were from business, professional and landowning families.

The change from innkeeper to engineer had an immediate effect on Kitson's habits of religious worship. In 1840, he rented a pew in the Unitarian chapel of Mill Hill. Traditionally upward social mobility is associated with a move from chapel to church — coach and horses don't go past the church door for more than one generation — but it is clear that in the lower reaches of the social scale upward mobility could result in a change in the opposite direction. Perhaps the move was Kitson's declaration of social independence from his Anglican patrons, and the system of aristocratic rule and deference with which the Anglican church was associated. It was a move which required some courage and independence for Unitarians like John Marshall were still questioned in political meetings about their religious beliefs, and taunted for being 'socians' in a way their opponents felt would be politically damaging. In 1840, Kitson joined one of the élite nonconformist congregations in Leeds society. The Mill Hill congregation, led by Charles Wicksteed, was dominated by a number of wealthy 18th-century merchant and professional families, the Luptons, Luccocks, Oates, Totties, Bischoffs and Stansfelds, but also attracted a scattering of radicals, Samuel Smiles, then editor of the *Leeds Times*,

[53] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 February 1845.
[54] Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the Engineers*, 3 vols., 1861-2; C. Erickson, *British Industrialists : steel and hosiery, 1850-1950*, Cambridge (1959), 12.

rented a pew in 1840, as did James Hole, the Owenite writer on co-operation in 1848.[55] The Unitarian tradition of intellectual independence was a major attraction for radical thinkers.[56] Kitson himself became an active member of the congregation. In 1844 he was appointed chapel warden and a member of the chapel committee. In 1844, the committee agreed to plans for rebuilding the chapel in the newly fashionable gothic style, and opened a subscription to finance the new building. Kitson gave £25 to the building fund, a modest amount compared with the £100s of the Oates, Totties, and Luptons, and tiny besides the £500 of John Marshall and Arthur Lupton.[57] These 19th century subscription lists show with intentional and clinical clarity the wide gaps in economic status which separated members of the middle class — even that portion of the middle class which was associated so closely in chapel affairs.

Kitson's economic success and his membership of Mill Hill congregation altered the extent and form of his involvement in local Liberal Party politics. Like many Leeds Liberals Kitson was an irregular supporter of the Anti-Corn Law Campaign. The firm, Laird, Kitson & Co., signed the early petitions in 1841, and he attended the soirée in 1842, when Cobden came at Baines's invitation to rouse a little enthusiasm for the cause among the Leeds middle classes. His name was not in the published list of contributors to the big League funds until the quarter of a million fund in 1846.[58] Like many middle class dissenters Kitson was drawn into politics by the Churches' rates issue. In 1840, Sir Robert Inglis nearly succeeded in getting a motion past the House of Commons calling for state aid to church building for the Anglican Church. Nonconformists were already angry at the slow progress which had been made in the campaign to abolish church rates, legally enforceable on all sections of the population. John Thorogood

[55] Pew Rent Book, 1829-48, Mill Hill Unitarian Church, Leeds. My thanks are due to the minister and trustees of Mill Hill for allowing me to see these records; P. H. Wicksteed (editor), *Memorials of the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, B.A.*, London 1886; W. L. Schroeder, *Mill Hill Chapel, 1674-1924*, Leeds, 1925.

[56] R. V. Holt, *The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England*, London, 1938.

[57] Committee Minutes, 1771-1858, and a document headed 'We the undersigned agree to contribute the sums set to our respective names toward the erection of a chapel on the ground belonging to the Unitarian Congregation meeting at Mill Hill . . .', both from Mill Hill records.

[58] *Leeds Mercury*, 27 March and 25 September 1841, 10 December 1842 and 17 January 1846.

of Chelmsford, imprisoned for refusing to pay legally demanded church rates had become something of a hero. In April 1840, Unitarian, Congregational and Baptist leaders combined to sponsor two meetings which saw disestablishment of the Anglican Church as the end point of a long series of demands.

> They met, 'for the purpose of PETITIONING PARLIAMENT AGAINST any FURTHER GRANTS of MONEY from the PUBLIC FUNDS to the ESTABLISHED CHURCH: for the ABOLITION of CHURCH RATES; the REFORM of ECCESLIASTICAL COURTS; the LIBERATION of JOHN THOROGOOD; the RELIEF of the BISHOPS from their DUTIES in the HOUSE OF LORDS; and the ENTIRE SEPARATION of CHURCH and STATE.'[59]

He showed the same concern for the rights of nonconformists in 1843, when he joined the opposition to the education measures of Graham's Factory Bill, measures which proposed a national education system substantially controlled by the Anglican clergy.[60] But, like most of the Unitarian congregation at Mill Hill, Kitson refused to follow Baines into the extreme voluntaryist position on state education in 1847. His place in the Mill Hill congregation may have been responsible for drawing him into other areas of Liberal politics, for at a meeting of the Complete Suffrage Association in 1844, he seconded the motion of a leading member of Mill Hill, Arthur Lupton, junior.[61] At the end of the 1840s Kitson supported a series of meetings promoting the Peace and financial reform campaigns of Cobden. He signed a requisition for a meeting led by Robert Jowitt, of the Quaker based Leeds Peace Society, a meeting to petition for a peaceful solution to the Oregon boundary dispute with the United States.[62] It was a meeting in which the Luptons again took a leading part. Kitson also took part in meetings supporting the Cobden peace motion in 1849, a proposal for arbitration for international disputes, and one in which Leeds Liberals heard and welcomed Cobden's plans for financial reforms, principally the cutting of military expenditure. By 1849, Kitson's growing importance within the local Liberal Party was clear. He seconded a minor motion at the financial reform meeting, and

[59] *Leeds Mercury*, 11 & 18 April 1840; Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, London 1966, Vol. 1, 336; H. J. Perkin, *op. cit.*, 349-50.
[60] *Leeds Mercury*, 8 April 1843; J. T. Ward, *Sir James Graham*, London (1967), 196.
[61] *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1844.
[62] *Leeds Mercury*, 31 January 1846.

was made a member of the committee set up in Leeds to support Cobden's campaign for economy, reform and peace.[63]

In the 1840s, Kitson kept to his declared intention of supporting Mechanics Institutions, 'as long as I am able'. He had increased the range of his cultural entertainment by joining the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society in 1843. This was an exclusive middle class organisation. Kitson joined first as an annual subscriber at a guinea a year, and then as his economic fortunes rose he became an ordinary member in 1846, three guineas entrance and two guineas a year with a share in the government of the Society at the annual general meeting.[64] At the Mechanics, Kitson took over as secretary of the Institute from Thomas Plint in the late 1830s. He was secretary during the union with the Literary Institution, and the great expansion of membership in the 1840s. He was a constant attender at working committees rather than a speech-maker, so that his importance to the Institution was represented not by the column inches of speeches in the *Mercury*, but by the presentation made to him in 1845; the President, Edward Baines, junior, testified that Kitson's

> 'quiet and unostentatious, but most zealous, cheerful, indefatigable, and efficient labours had been devoted to the prosperity of this Institution. Engaged as Mr Kitson was in those mechanical arts and sciences with which the prosperity of this country was so intimately connected, it had seemed proper to the committee to make a purchase of the splendid volume before him — Simm's Public Work's of Great Britain — which, as being illustrative of the railways of Great Britain, was a peculiarly appropriate present to a gentleman engaged in the manufacture of locomotive engines.'[65]

When a small Mutual Improvement Society was opened in Hunslet, the members turned to Kitson for aid. He was a natural patron for the industrial village in which he had his engineering works.[66] As his social standing rose, he became vice-president of the Leeds Institute in 1849 and 1850, and President in 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition. Many of the aims and ideas behind the Exhibition, the spread of education, especially to the working classes, and the

[63] *Leeds Mercury*, 3 February, 14 April and 15 December 1849; D. Reed, *Cobden and Bright*, London (1967), 109-55; John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, London 1879 (1905 edition), 500-26.

[64] *Annual Reports of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 1822-1851; E. Kitson-Clark, *The History of a 100 years Life of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Leeds 1924.

[65] *Leeds Mercury*, 22 February 1845; Minute Book of the classes sub-committee of the Leeds Mechanics Institution, 1843-48, Leeds City Archives.

[66] *Leeds Mercury*, 26 September 1846; J. W. Hudson, *The history of Adult Education*, London (1851), 94.

increase of international peace and free trade, were the same as Kitson's so it was natural that he should become one of the secretaries of the Leeds Local Committee for the Exhibition. Late in 1851, he suggested that the Royal Commission should spend the profit they had made that summer on extending the work of local Mechanics Institutes, again expressing his belief in the value of the organisation which had helped him to success.[67] The activity of the Great Exhibition Local Committee in Leeds, together with the interests of the recently formed Trade Protection Society led to the formation of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce in 1851. Martin Cawood, co-secretary with Kitson, took the initiative in this, and became the secretary of the Chamber. Soon after the forming of the Chamber Kitson was elected as a member of the Council, and was the major representative of the engineering manufacturers in Leeds, taking an active part in meetings and deputations.[68]

By 1851 James Kitson had completed his climb into the ranks of the upper middle class and was beginning to collect those tokens of social prestige bestowed upon the Victorian urban élite. He was already president of the Mechanics and a council member of the Chamber of Commerce, he was to go on to become Mayor in 1860 and 1861, to be chairman of the building committee of Leeds General Infirmary and chairman of the Leeds Northern Railway.[69] In Trades Union affairs the wheel had turned full circle. In 1851, Kitson, Thompson, and Hewitson fought a bitter, often violent strike with the local engineers' union. The Mechanics struck work complaining that Kitson's did not have a standard wage rate; Kitson's claimed this was so that they could pay higher wages to more skilled and experienced men. The firm brought in men from Newcastle to fill the places of the strikers. These blacklegs were caught on their arrival in Leeds and entertained at the public house where the strikers met. Kitson's then had to prosecute them for breach of contract when they did not turn up to work. The firm had persuaded the men to sign a contract for 12 months at 25s. a week before leaving Newcastle. By October the firm claimed to have filled most of the places left vacant by the strike and

[67] R. J. Morris, "Leeds and the Crystal Palace", *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 13 (1970), 281-300.

[68] First Minute Book of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce, in the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds (MS. [Deposit] 1951/1/1); *Leeds Mercury*, 6 December 1851; M. W. Beresford, *Leeds Chamber of Commerce*, Leeds 1851.

[69] *The Leeds Biographer*, Vol. 1, 1892.

intimidation became more violent. Men were brought to court under the revised Combination Act of 1826 for intimidating the apprentices still in work. An engine smith brought in from outside found himself surrounded by a crowd baa-ing and calling black sheep. He was threatened and offered the price of a ticket to Hull if he would leave the foundry. Kitson's meanwhile offered a £20 reward for the engine smith's apprehension when he failed to report for work. The press reported no final conclusion to the strike, but recorded a decreasing level of violence and legal counter-action as Kitson established his alternative labour force.[70]

The opportunities of the railway boom years had enabled James Kitson to change from the publican-Anglican-Ten Hours trades union man, by way of the Friendly Society and Mechanics Institution, to become a major capitalist, a determined opponent of Trades Unions, a leading local Liberal politician, an Anti-Corn Law man, a Unitarian opposing the claims of the Anglican Church and a patron of the Mechanics Institution. The importance of this transition lies not only in the increased knowledge it gives us about the origins of a leading 19th-century Leeds family, but also in its value as a source of speculation about class relationships in the crucial period 1820-1850. Relationships between middle and working classes were talked of in a double mood of co-operation and conflict by employers, trades unionists and politicians. Economic and technical change was intensifying conflict, over the franchise, over factory conditions and above all over wages. The middle class unable to share their power over the management of capital with the unions, and forced to accept the conflict situation there, tried to return to the ethic of co-operation by an indirect route. One of these was the offer of education through the Mechanics Institute. It was an offer which James Kitson accepted to his own great gain, but also to the gain of the middle class which had attracted him to the study of mechanics and railway locomotives, for they had removed an able leader from an active radical movement that threatened the security of middle class power. This was just one example of social mobility with these consequences. The evidence presented here is not enough to claim that agencies like the Mechanics Insititute were effective in removing able leaders from working class and radical organisations, but it does show that such a process was possible, and men would have to follow the path traced by James Kitson in only very small numbers for

[70] *Leeds Mercury*, 30 August to 29 November 1851.

the effectiveness of working class organisation to be reduced, for in the deprived and confined environment of working class life in the eighteen twenties, an able leadership must have been a rare and precious commodity.

THE LAST MONKS OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY

by

ALLISTER LONSDALE, M.A.

On 22 November 1538 the Abbey and its possessions were surrendered to the commissioners of Henry VIII. The original deed of surrender with its invaluable list of signatures was probably kept in St Mary's Tower, York, until 1592 when the Clerk of the Castle and County Court of York delivered certain deeds relating to the Abbey to Sir Walter Calverley, and its present whereabouts are not known.[1] An enrolled copy was kept for legal purposes in the Augmentation Office, London, which supports the suggestion that the original was kept elsewhere; unhappily the signatures do not appear on the enrolled copy.[2]

On the same day pensions were granted to the Abbot or Prior, the sub-prior, and twenty-nine monks, and a list of their names is extant.[3] There is also a list of those monks drawing their pensions in 1553, fifteen years later,[4] and also in October 1573, almost twenty-five years later.[5] It should be noted that if an ex-monk received a living from the Crown, his pension was abated, but not if he was presented to a living by a private individual, so that the cessation of a pension does not always mean that the holder had died.

When the monasteries were dissolved the ecclesiastical authorities often granted a 'capacity' to each monk, releasing him from his religious duties and permitting him to accept a living as a secular priest. There is no record of the grants of capacities to the Kirkstall monks although capacities were granted to the monks of many neighbouring houses.[6] There seems to have been no reason to discriminate against Kirkstall; the records may simply have

[1] B. A. English and C. B. L. Barr, "The records formerly in St Mary's Tower, York", in *Y.A.J.*, XLII, 211; it was probably from the original deed that Ralph Thoresby made the transcript which appears in *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846), V, 550, and which differs slightly from the enrolled copy.

[2] See Appendix I.

[3] See Appendix II.

[4] J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (1758), 296.

[5] *Y.A.J.*, XIX, 101.

[6] *Faculty Office Registers, 1534-9*, edited by D. S. Chambers (1966).

been lost, but unhappily there is therefore only the first pension list to provide their names. Using that list the purpose of this Note is to show what sort of men made up the community of Kirkstall immediately before the dissolution and to trace their subsequent careers.

Numbers

In 1381, immediately after the Black Death, there were 17 monks; in 1525 there were 35;[7] in 1538 a total of 31 received pensions. Comparison of numbers is difficult because monks were often trained and ordained in batches of up to five at a time; the incidence of death was certain only in its eventual inevitability; and when the smaller houses were dissolved by Parliament in 1536 the members of those communities were given the option of transferring themselves to other houses of the same Order. Thus the Thomas Moke who appears in all three pension lists is probably the Thomas Moke, monk of Rufford, a Cistercian house in Nottinghamshire, dissolved in 1536. The ordinations of about one quarter of the pensioned monks of Kirkstall cannot be traced, which suggests that they had come from other houses; if this is right then the numbers of true Kirkstall monks had fallen immediately before the dissolution.

Education

In 1480 a General Chapter of the Cistercian Order had directed that one in every twelve English Cistercians should be sent to the Cistercian College of St Bernard at Oxford.[8] None of the Kirkstall monks has been found to have been at Oxford, although in 1536 the Abbot's chaplain (unhappily not named) was described as 'learned in divinity'.[9]

Age

When the date of ordination as a priest is known, and assuming that he was then 25 years old,[10] his age at the dissolution can be calculated. Of the 31 pensioned monks two had not yet been ordained priests, and of the 29 priests the ordinations of only six

[7] D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (1953), 110.
[8] J. M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ord. Cist. 1116-1786*, Louvain (1933-41).
[9] *Letters & Papers of Henry VIII*, Vol. XII, pt. 1, 341.
[10] This was then the minimum age, although sometimes relaxed by dispensation. See *Faculty Office Registers* for examples.

can be traced with certainty. This is because, while their Christian names remained constant, they usually entered the community bearing a surname derived from the place where they lived, such as Edward Pomfret (i.e. Pontefract) who changed his name to Heptonstall. The 'place surnames' show that the majority came from a relatively small area around Kirkstall, of about twenty miles radius. On leaving the abbey some retained their new name, others reverted to the original name.

Using the identifiable monks, it would seem that pensions of £6. 13s. 4d. were granted to those ordained priest more than twenty years before the dissolution, £6 to those ordained ten years or more; £5. 6s. 8d. for five years or more; £5 for other priests and £2 for those not yet ordained priest. Knowing his Christian name, the size of his pension, and hence the approximate date of his ordination, it is then possible from the ordination lists,[11] where he is described as 'monachus de Kirkstall', to guess at his identity and hence to find the precise date of ordination, and by adding twenty-five years his age is known. Using this method the following picture of the community is obtained.

70 or over	3 (74, 73, 72)
60-69;	0
50-59;	6
40-49;	10
30-39;	2
25-29;	8

plus two postulants not yet ordained priest.

In this way the average age, ignoring the two postulants, is calculated at 43 years. It is interesting to note that at the Cistercian house of Rievaulx the average age was 41, and at Byland, also a Cistercian house, the average was 40.[12] The slightly higher figure for Kirkstall is perhaps accounted for by the presence of three septuagenarians.

Morals

Between December 1535 and March 1536 Richard Layton and Thomas Legh made a visitation of the northern monasteries and reported on Kirkstall;[13]

[11] In the Archbishops' Registers, Borthwick Institute, York.

[12] Calculated by the Author from the details in H. Aveling, "The Rievaulx Community after the Dissolution", and "Monks of Byland after the Dissolution", in *Ampleforth Journal*, LVII, 101, and LX, 3.

[13] *Compendium compertorum, etc.*, P.R.O., S.P. 1, 102, p. 106; calendared *in L. & P. Henry VIII*, X, 137. See also Yorkshire Monasteries : Suppression papers, *Y.A.S.R.S.*, XLVIII, 13, and G. W. O. Woodward, *Dissolution of the Monasteries* (1966), 32.

Sodomy	Thomas Kirkstall Paulus Mason Gabriel Loftous	} per voluntarium pollucionem
Superstitio	Hic singulum S. Bernadi pro parturientibus	
Fundator	Dominus rex	
Reddit anna	CCCXXIX	

One should not take the allegation of sodomy too seriously. Less than three years before, the offence had become punishable by death without benefit of clergy;[14] according to the Visitors no fewer than 182 in the Northern district were accused and not a single monk was proceeded against in the civil or the ecclesiastical courts. The rapidity of the visitations, the vagueness of the accusations as to date, place and manner, must make us suspicious. Further, of the Kirkstall monks, Mason and Lofthouse, and possibly Thomas Kirkstall also, received their pensions from the Crown in due course.

The Monks

1. *John BROWN or RIPLEY.* The last Abbot, also described as Prior. Elected Abbot 21 July 1528,[15] only nine years after his ordination as priest. Ordained sub-deacon 22 September 1515, deacon 20 September 1516, priest 9 April 1519.[16] In December 1536 he and other abbots attended a meeting at Pontefract at which the Pilgrimage of Grace was discussed. He was accompanied by his chaplain 'learned in divinity', and he was described as 'a sober man and spoke little'.[17] He seems to have taken no further part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. For at least two years before the dissolution he was paying Thomas Cromwell an annual fee of four marks; for what is not known.[18] He was given a pension of 100 marks, i.e. £66. 13s. 8d. a year. In October 1540 he was left a gold noble,[19] and it is said that he lived on in the gate house of Kirkstall until his death.[20]

[14] Sir W. Blackstone's *Commentaries on the laws of England*, Book IV, chap. 15.
[15] R. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715), 264.
[16] The dates of these and other ordinations are taken from the Archbishops' Registers, Borthwick Institute, York.
[17] *L. & P. Henry VIII*, Vol. XII, pt. 1, 341.
[18] *L. & P. Henry VIII*, Vol. XIV, pt. 2, 319, 322, 324, 326.
[19] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, *Thoresby Society Publications*, XIX, 54.
[20] A. C. Price, *Leeds and its Neighbourhood* (1909), 161, quoting from an unidentified source.

2. *Leonard WYNDRESSE.* The sub-Prior. A Henry Wyndrith, monk of Kirkstall, was ordained deacon 4 April 1489 and a Henry Wyndworth, monk of Kirkstall, ordained priest 14 March 1490/1. but the sub-prior is more likely to have been Leonard York, subdeacon 23 February 1498, deacon 25 May 1499 and priest 8 May 1504. He was given a pension of £8, confirmed in 1553. In May 1548 as 'Sir Leonard Windrithe' he witnessed the will of John Pepper of Bramley[21] whose son Thomas was a Kirkstall monk (No. 24) and in March 1553 he was mentioned in the will of Thomas Pepper himself.[22]

3. *Anthony JACKSON.* The size of his pension suggests that he also held some office. Possibly the Anthony Abett ordained priest in September 1508.[23] Pension of £8, confirmed in 1553. In 1554 he had a servant called Elizabeth Fletcher, related to Richard Fletcher or Jeffrayson, curate of Leeds.[24] In December 1550 Sir Richard Elles of Leeds, priest, (No. 20) left him 'my best gown and the best tacke' (i.e. clasp) 'save one, and a stag which is with William Askwith, and one vestment, one altar cloth and two or three corporaxes'.[25] He was then described as being 'of Horsforth'. In March 1553 he was mentioned in the will of Thomas Pepper.[26] Up to August he was described in wills as clerk or curate of Otley.[27] Finally in July 1558 he was described as curate at Horsforth Hall, Guiseley.[28]

4. *Richard BATESON.* The size of his pension suggests also that he held some office. Possibly the Richard Barber ordained sub-deacon 18 December 1484, deacon 19 March 1484/5, priest 4 April 1489. Pension of £5, confirmed in 1553. In August 1544, described as 'priest', he witnessed a Spofforth will;[29] as 'parish priest' another Spofforth will in February 1545;[30] and as 'priest' another Spofforth will in September 1545.[31] In the *Tudor Crockford*[32] he is described as curate of Spofforth and rector of Birkin.

[21] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 204.
[22] Woodward, *op. cit.*, 157.
[23] Sede Vacante Register, f. 60ov.
[24] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 113.
[25] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 271.
[26] Woodward, *op. cit.*, 157.
[27] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, *Thoresby Society Publications*, XXVII, 15, 21, 58, 92, 118.
[28] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 251.
[29] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 108.
[30] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 164.
[31] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 165.
[32] Borthwick Institute, York.

5. *Henry CLUGHE.* Possibly the Henry Wyndrith or Wyndworth already mentioned (See No. 2). Pension of £6. 13s. 4d. Otherwise not traced.

6. *Thomas BERTLETT.* Sub-deacon 27 April 1490, deacon 18 September 1490, priest 17 December 1491. Pension of £6. 13s. 4d. He was a Leeds man, his parents being buried in Leeds and he was the uncle of Thomas Jeffrayson, the last priest of the chantry of St Mary Magdalene in Leeds. After the dissolution he lived at Allerton Grange and died in May or June 1542, leaving his vestments to the chapel at Chapeltown.[33]

7. *Edward HEPTONSTALL or POMFRET.* Sub-deacon 23 December 1505, deacon 28 May 1506, priest 29 May 1507. Pension of £6. 13s. 4d., confirmed in 1553. By his will made in August and proved in October 1558 he left to the Leeds Parish Church a book called *Sermones Discipuli* and a vestment of silver and damask velvet, and to his nephew 'which now learneth at the school[34] . . . . . all those books which stand and be in one chest being at my bed's feet, and all other books being in my custody which were of the abbey books, I will that they be safely kept to be redelivered by my said executors to Kirkstall Abbey if it go up in their times'.[35] He also mentioned John Lister (No. 26) of Burley and his wife, Nicholas Claughton and Otivell Wilson (Christopher Wilson, No. 11?).

8. *John HORWODD or HERWOOD.* Pension of £6. 13s. 4d., confirmed in 1553.

9. *John HENRYSON.* Pension of £6. 13s. 4d.

These two were probably John Potter, sub-deacon 8 May 1504, priest 22 September 1509, and John Sponge, priest 22 September 1509; it is impossible to tell which.

The name of Henryson was often also spelt Harrison or Herrison,[36] so that positive indentification is difficult, but it is tempting to identify him as the Henryson who in May 1539 was mentioned in a Leeds will;[37] as the Harrison who in November 1539 was

[33] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 59, 348.
[34] Possibly the Leeds Grammar School. If so, this is the earliest reference to the school as having actually been opened.
[35] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 198.
[36] See the will of Robert Dickson (Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 196) for all three variations.
[37] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 172.

curate of Leeds;[38] as the Henryson who in March 1541 was a chantry priest in Leeds;[39] as the Harrison who witnessed another Leeds will in January 1543;[40] and almost certainly as the 'Sir John Herryson (Ben^{r})' — *quaere*, an error for Pen^{r}, i.e. pensioner — who was buried in the Leeds parish church 28 October 1545.[41]

10. *Richard BROKE.* Possibly the Richard Spofforth ordained priest 18 December 1512. Pension of £6. 13s. 4d. Otherwise not traced.

11. *Christopher WILSON.* Ordination not traced. Pension of £6. 13s. 4d. Possibly the Otivell Wilson mentioned in August 1558 in the will of Edward Heptonstall (No. 7). Otherwise not traced.

12. *John MATHEW.* Possibly either John Richmond, sub-deacon 22 September 1515, deacon 20 September 1516, priest 13 January 1521/2, or John Thorner, sub-deacon 22 September 1509, priest 15 June 1515. Pension of £6. In July 1556 as 'Dom John Mathew of Leeds' he proved, with Paul Mason (No. 23), the will of Thomas Yiddal or Chesterton, of Kirkstall.[42] Not to be confused with the John Mathew who in 1535 and 1546 was one of the chantry priests of Our Lady, in Leeds.[43]

13. *Gabriel LOFTHOUSE.* Sub-deacon 22 September 1515, deacon 20 September 1516, priest 13 January 1521/2. Accused of sodomy in 1535/6 (*supra*). Pension of £6. In April 1550 he was a chaplain in Richmond.[44] By his will dated 4 August 1552 he left his bedding to his brother and disposed of his other possessions, namely a long gown, a wooden spoon tipped with silver and a little over one guinea in cash.[45] He was buried in the porch of the chapel of St John in the parish church of Richmond.[46]

14. *Richard STANDECLIFF.* Pension of £6. Otherwise not traced.

[38] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 13.
[39] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 58.
[40] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 113.
[41] "A Thoresby manuscript", *Thoresby Society Publications*, II, 161.
[42] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 52.
[43] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Henry VIII, V, 40; Yorkshire Chantry Surveys II, *Surtees Society*, XCII, 213; Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 105, 331; Index to wills in the York Registry, 1568-1585, in *Y.A.S.R.S.*, XIX, 217.
[44] Wills & Inventories, *Surtees Society*, XXVI, 69.
[45] Woodward, *op. cit.*, 151; *Surtees Society*, XXVI, 144.
[46] Wills & Inventories, *Surtees Society*, XXVI, 144.

15. *Thomas ELLYS.* Pension of £6. Possibly Ellestones or Elston. In May 1542 Thomas Bertlett (No. 6) left to 'Sir Thomas Ellestones . . . my best gown with the silver tache' (brooch), and he witnessed this will as 'Sir Thomas Ellestone, clerk'.[47] In September 1553 as Thomas Elystone, clerk, with William Lupton (No. 17) he witnessed the will of George Hall of Allerton Grange.[48] In August 1558 as Sir Thomas Elston, clerk, with Thomas Hodgson, the son-in-law of George Hall, he witnessed the will of Ann Fladder of Chapeltown.[49] A Thomas Ellistone of the Benedictine community of Monk Bretton was ordained sub-deacon 7 June 1533, deacon 7 September 1533, and it is just possible that he migrated to Kirkstall even though it was a Cistercian house.

16. *William NORTHIVES.* Pension of £6. William Northes, ex-monk of Kirkstall, is said in *Tudor Crockford* to have been vicar of Adel, 1541-1551. Possibly he was a curate.[50]

17. *William LUPTON.* Pension of £6, confirmed in 1553. Ordination not traced. In March 1553 he was mentioned in the will of Thomas Pepper (No. 24) and in September 1553 in the will of George Hall of Allerton Grange (See No. 15). In August 1554 as 'clerk' he witnessed the will of Benedict Wasche of Kirkstall.[51] In the *Tudor Crockford* a William Lupton is said to have been curate of Huddersfield in 1545.

18. *Gilbert BROWNE.* Pension of £6. Possibly related to Thomas Browne of Adel whose will in October 1553 was witnessed by Richard Wodd (No. 21).

19. *Edward SANDALL.* Pension of £6, confirmed in 1553 and in October 1573. In the latter list there is also an Edward Sandall, ex-chantry priest of St Thomas, St Dennis on Ouse Bridge, York, drawing a pension of £4. 16s. 4d. In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 there was no chantry priest of that name, so that the ex-Kirkstall monk became a York chantry priest. Aveling[52] refers to him as follows;

[47] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 59.
[48] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 348.
[49] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 213.
[50] He does not appear in the list of vicars or rectors in T. D. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete* (1816), 180. But the Abbey had the advowson of Adel; Burton, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
[51] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 30.
[52] H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, 199.

Edward Sandall figures extensively in the York visitations and High Commission books for 1567-8. He was apparently an ex-York chantry priest, living normally in York and supporting himself by teaching a few boys privately, without licence of the Archbishop. He had also recently served a curacy at Tadcaster without licence. There was no doubt from the evidence that he was an outspoken 'misliker', rating his York friends for swinging with every wind of the new protestant doctrines. He was suspended, convicted also of sodomy, sent to York Castle and released after taking the Oath of Supremacy and then vanishes from the records.

20. *Richard ELLYS.* Pension of £5. 6s. 8d.

21. *Richard WODD.* Pension of £5. 6s. 8d.

These are probably either Richard Newall or Richard Newton, both ordained priests 20 March 1530/31; it is impossible to tell which.

Richard Ellys, the nephew of Nicholas Ellis of Darrington,[53] in his will dated December 1550 and proved June 1551, refers to 'my father of Gipton, John Herrison . . . and my mother in law of Gipton . . . Also I make John Herrison of Gipton, my father in law', and others, 'my executors'. He bequeathed his featherbed, mattress, one pair of his best sheets, two blankets and two coverlets.[54] On balance it must seem that he married but had no children and that his wife pre-deceased him, and that he died before the Marian reaction against married ex-religious began.

Richard Wodd was mentioned in March 1553 in the will of Thomas Pepper (No. 24) and possibly in October 1553 he witnessed an Adel will (see No. 18).

22. *Robert HEMSWORTH.* Pension of £5. 6s. 8d. In his will dated March 1552, proved May 1553, he described himself as 'Robert Hemsworth of Preston in the parish of Kippax, clerk', and he left to his sister 'my half year's pension', which tells us that the pensions were paid half yearly and were sometimes in arrear.[55] In the *Tudor Crockford* he is described as curate of Swillingford.

23. *Paul MASON.* Pension of £5. 6s. 8d., confirmed in 1553. Sub-deacon 20 March 1530/1, deacon 7 June 1533, priest 19 Sept-

[53] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 283.
[54] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 271.
[55] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 337.

ember 1534. Accused of sodomy in 1535/6 (see p. 204). In July 1556 as 'Dom Paul Mason of Leeds' together with John Mathew (No. 12) he proved the will of Thomas Yeddall or Chesterton of Kirkstall[56] and the supervisor of this will was Gilbert Leigh of Middleton. Priests of this name are said in the *Tudor Crockford* to have been vicar of Barnsley in 1551/2, curate of Kirkdale in 1558, vicar of Bishopthorpe in 1562/3 and vicar of St Mary, Castlegate in 1571.

24. *Thomas PEPPER.* Pension of £5, confirmed in 1553.

25. *Thomas WYLSON.* Pension of £5.

These two are probably Thomas Otley, sub-deacon 20 March 1530/1, deacon 7 June 1533, priest 19 September 1534; and Thomas Kirkstall, acolyte 12 September 1533, priest 19 September 1534.[57]

Thomas Kirkstall was accused of sodomy in 1535/6.

Thomas Pepper was the son of John Pepper of Bramley whose will he witnessed in May 1548 together with Leonard Windrithe (No. 2).[58] In October 1550 as 'Sir Thomas Pepper' he was the executor of the will of John Admergill of Burley.[59] The living of Adel had been in the gift of Kirkstall Abbey[60] and on 4 November 1551 he was instituted rector of Adel.[61] He died between 27 March and 9 June 1553 and his will shows that he and possibly other ex-monks enjoyed the use of property formerly belonging to the Abbey which had probably been placed in the hand of nominees before the dissolution.[62]

Thomas Wylson is possibly the parish clerk who witnessed two Leeds wills in October 1542 and January 1554.[63] He may also be the Thomas Wylson who witnessed the wills of William Killingbeck of Chapel Allerton in January 1546; and the will of Richard Cowper of Leeds in July 1549,[64] together with John Mathew (No. 12) and James Sykes.[65]

[56] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1553-1561, 52.
[57] Woodward, *op. cit.*, appears to identify Pepper as Kirkstall, but does not say why.
[58] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 204.
[59] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 274.
[60] Adel Parish Church Registers, *Thoresby Society Publication*, V, 29.
[61] Whitaker, *op. cit.*, 180.
[62] Woodward, *op. cit.*, 149, 157; Registers of Archbishops Holgate and Heath, f. 107v.
[63] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 70, 113.
[64] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 238.
[65] The father of the Venerable Edmund Sykes of Leeds, priest and martyr.

26. *John LYSTER.* Pension of £5. Acolyte 12 September 1533, deacon 21 March 1533/4, priest 20 February 1534/5. Possibly the John Lister of Burley who, with his wife, was mentioned in August 1558 in the will of Edward Heptonstall (No. 7), although there is no record of his being deprived of any living for marriage during the reign of Mary (1553-58).[66]

27. *Richard LEAVESAXE.* Pension of £5. Possibly the Richard Denton, acolyte 12 September 1533, deacon 21 March 1533/4, priest 14 February 1537/8. He is possibly referred to in the will of John Leversage of Drighlington in May 1542; 'also I will that Richard Leversege be full with Robert my son and that the said Robert be good to him and find him at the house during his life', i.e. Richard is to behave properly to Robert, and Robert is to provide board and lodging for Richard.[67]

28. *John SNAWE.* Pension of £5, confirmed in 1553 when he is called Shawe, and again in 1573 when he is called Snewe. Possibly the John Snow, cleric, summoned before the High Commission in December 1570[68] and for whom attachments were issued in February and July 1571, and in February 1572.[69]

29. *Thomas MOKE.* Pension of £5, confirmed in 1553 when he is called Monk, and again in 1573 when he is called Mooke. Possibly the Thomas Moke, monarchus de Rufforth, deacon 19 September 1534, already mentioned. On 20 May 1544 a dispensation was granted to Thomas Moke, rector of Cardinham, near Bodmin, Cornwall, in the diocese of Exeter, and Vicar of Hatfield in the diocese of London, Queen's Chaplain (i.e. to Queen Catherine Parr) to hold another benefice in plurality.[70] The name is so unusual that it probably refers to the ex-Kirkstall monk. Otherwise not traced.

30. *John DENBY.* Pension of £2. Not a priest. Not yet traced.

31. *Henry CLAIGHTON.* Pension of £2, confirmed in 1553. Not a priest. Possibly the Henry Claghton of Sawley, to whom

[66] A. G. Dickens, *The Marian Reaction in the Diocese of York*, pt. 1 (St Anthony's Hall Publications, No. 11).
[67] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 62.
[68] High Commission Act Books, 10, f. 164v.
[69] H.C.A.B., 10, f. 20; 16, f. 43; 16, f. 136.
[70] *Faculty Office Registers 1534-49*, 239.

a dispensation was granted 6 June 1536.[71] The name Claughton appears frequently in the Leeds and Adel registers.

In summary, the Abbot lived on in the precincts of the Abbey and died there. Of the remaining thirty monks the careers of one half are unknown, possibly because they returned to their homes at some distance from Leeds so that there are no references to them in local records.

One half, however, of the monks can be shown to have continued to act as priests, for the most part assistant curates. The need for such clerical assistance is exemplified by the grant to John Thornton, vicar of Leeds, on 3 November 1547, of a dispensation to hold another benefice in plurality.[72]

Dom Hugh Aveling, O.S.B., has traced the histories of the 27 monks of Byland and the 29 monks of Rievaulx;[73] and of the 88 monks of Byland, Kirkstall and Rievaulx, 26 can definitely be traced as having entered pastoral work, either in parishes or as private chaplains, with 12 doubtfuls. At a conservative estimate, one third undertook pastoral work. Taking the whole of Yorkshire it has been estimated that there were 438 ex-religious, excluding friars,[74] and if the proportion of one-third is typical, about 145 ex-religious in the whole of Yorkshire and, say, 60 in the West Riding took up pastoral work. At this time there were some 300 parochial clergy in the West Riding[75] so that their numbers were suddenly increased by something like one fifth. Moreover the new recruits were men who might be expected to have been of conservative inclination and disposed to strengthen the opposition to the changes in religion which had begun and were to increase.

Two further matters remain to be considered. The expulsion of the monks from their Abbey was cushioned by arrangements which they had obviously been able to make in advance. The example of Thomas Pepper has already been mentioned and at least one of the Abbey granges provided a home for the expelled monks.

The second point is that a link existed between the expulsion of the monks and the centres of Catholic recusancy which were

[71] *Faculty Office Registers 1534-49*, 58.
[72] *Faculty Office Registers 1534-49*, 300.
[73] Aveling, *op. cit.*
[74] A. G. Dickens, "The Edwardian Arrears in Augmentation Payments and the Problems of the Ex-Religious", in *English historical review*, July 1940.
[75] Aveling, *Catholic Recusants of the West Riding*, 196.

to develop during the days of Elizabeth and to flourish later. In the centre of Leeds there was no formal nucleus of recusancy but there were always a few recusants; the relation between Thomas Wilson and James Sykes, the father of the Venerable Edmund Sykes of Leeds, has already been mentioned. Again, one can point to Middleton, a catholic centre until the middle of the eighteenth century, and to the fact that Gilbert Leigh of Middleton was a supervisor of the will of Paul Mason. The most striking connection, however, is with Allerton Grange. In 1542 Thomas Bertlett (No. 6) in his will referred to 'my host George Hall' and directed 'that there remain at the said George Hall's house my altar with the altar cloths'.[76] George Hall gave the benefit of the lease of Allerton Grange to his wife Isabell for life and then to his son-in-law Thomas Hodgson and his daughter Ursula.[77] They had a son called Clement[78] and he and his wife, Katherine Stillington, were presented to the High Commission, 'married, it is thought, by a Popish priest in 1594'; in fact, by a Marian priest called Peter Cloudesley.[79] They had a daughter called Isabell, 'secretly baptised',[80] who married Edward Killingbeck; she maintained a priest 1674-76,[81] and members of the family were regularly presented as recusants.[82] The family left Allerton Grange at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX I

The Deed of Surrender of Kirkstall Abbey

[What follows is a translation by this contributor of the enrolled copy in the Augmentations Office, which has been collated with the copy of the deed printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846), vol. V, pp. 550, 551, 'from the pen of Ralph Thoresby of Leeds in the County of York', and which was probably a copy of the original deed.]

To all the faithfull in Christ to whom this writing now made shall come, we John Ripley the abbot of the monastery of St Mary

[76] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 59.
[77] Testamenta Leodiensia, 1539-1553, 348.
[78] Leeds Parish Church Registers, 1572-1612, *Thoresby Society Publications*, I, 94.
[79] H.C.A.B., 1591-5, f. 183, 205.
[80] E. Peacock, *List of the Roman Catholics in the county of York in 1604*, 1872.
[81] *Narrative of Lawrence Mowbray of Leeds*, London 1680.
[82] H. Aveling, *W.R. Recusants*, 303.

of Kirkstall in the County of York and the community of the same place send greetings in Our Eternal Lord.

Know you that we the said abbot and the community with our unanimous assent and consent, and with deliberate mind and knowledge, our wills having been moved by certain good reasons and factors (rightly, as we think),[1] moved by the spirit in our minds and consciences, freely and voluntarily give and concede and by this deed give and concede, render and deliver and confirm to our most illustrious and powerful prince and lord Henry VIII, by the Grace of God King of England and France, Defender of the Faith, lord of Ireland, and on earth supreme head of the church in England, all our house and monastery with all its site, land, surrounds and curtilage and the church of the monastery, with all that is owed to us, our chattels and moveable goods, whether in or relating to the said monastery, and those things we actually hold as well as those relating to the said monastery, actually held as well as those due to us or our said monastery; and each and every one of our manor, lordship, messuage, garden, curtilage, toft, land and tenement, meadow, sheep walk, pasturage, timber, both standing and fallen, rents, reversions and services, fees from milling, rights of way, military fees, rights of wardship, marriage and of freeing serfs and villeins, franchises, privileges, jurisdictions, offices, courts of leet and of hundred, that is, frankpledge; fairs and markets, parks, warrens, fish ponds, water fisheries, ways, advowsons, nominations, presentations and preferments to churches, vicarages, chaplaincies, chantries, hospitals and all other livings of any kind, rectories, vicarages, chaplaincies, pensions, offices, annuities, tenths, gifts and all other and singular emoluments, profits, possessions and our lawful hereditaments whatsoever, whether within the said counties of York or Lancaster or in the city of York, or whether found within England, Wales or the Marches, and belonging to, enjoyed with, appurtenant or attached to our said monastery; and all our deeds, memoranda, written records of debts, writings and muniments, of whatever kind, belonging to our monastery, lands and tenements in whatever manner seen or reputed to be held by our said monastery and the said site, lands and curtilage and our said church, with all that is owed to us, our goods and chattels, and all and singular our manors, lordships, messuages, lands and tenements, rectories, pensions and other things whatsoever, wth all and singular those things [now] pertaining to it;

[1] In Dugdale, in brackets; omitted from Augmentations Office copy.

To our aforesaid most powerful prince and king, his heirs successors and assigns,

To the use of the said lord king, his heirs and successors in perpetuity, of the one part.

And to the full effect in law ... [then follow the conveyancing covenants, usual at that time, e.g., to execute any supplementary deed to give effect to the foregoing, if necessary].

In testimony of which we the aforesaid abbot and community have subscribed by our own hands to this document in our name, and approved the same by our common seal.

Given in our aforesaid[2] chapter house the twenty second day of the month of November, in the thirty first year of the reign of most powerful lord and king Henry VIII, [and in the year of Our Lord 1540].[3]

And be it remembered that on the day and year aforesaid the said abbot and community in their chapter house at Kirkstall aforesaid, came before Richard Layton one of the King's commissioners, and acknowledged the said document and all and singular its contents in the form aforesaid.[4]

[2] Omitted from Dugdale.
[3] Omitted from Augmentations Office copy; the year is wrong.
[4] Omitted from Dugdale.

APPENDIX II

Translation of the first Pension List, P.R.O. E 315/246/page 27

County of York

Kirkstall priory

Pensions assigned and confirmed to the said priory upon the dissolution of the same by the Commissioners of our lord King the 22nd. day in the month of November in the year of Our Lord aforesaid[1] and in the thirtieth year of our king Henry VIII

Namely

John Browne prior	£66. 13. 4d.
Leonard Wyndresse sub-prior	£8
Thomas Bertlett priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Anthony Jackson priest	£8
Edward Heptonstall priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Henry Clughe priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Gabriel Loftous priest	£6
Richard Broke priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Richard Standclyff priest	£6
Thomas Ellys priest	£6
John Horwodd priest	£6. 13. 4d.
William Northives priest	£6
William Lupton priest	£6
Gilbert Brown priest	£6
Paul Maison priest	£5. 6s. 8d.
Robert Hemsworth priest	£5. 6s. 8d.
Richard Ellys priest	£5. 6s. 8d.
John Henryson priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Robert Bateson priest	£7
Richard Wodd priest	£5. 6. 8d.
John Mathew priest	£6
Edward Sandall priest	£6
Thomas Wylson priest	£5
Christopher Wylson priest	£6. 13. 4d.
Thomas Pepper priest	£5
John Lyster or Lytster priest	£5
Richard Leavesaxe priest	£5
John Snawe priest	£5
Thomas Moke priest	£5
John Denby	£2
Henry Claighton	£2

Total: £239. 13. 4d.

[Signed] Walter Hendle[2]
Thomas Crofts
Rychard Belassys
Ric Atkyns

[1] A reference to a preceding list.
[2] The Solicitor of the Court of Augmentations; Woodward, *op. cit.*, 112.

JOHN SMEATON[1]

by

C. A. LUPTON

JOHN SMEATON PROVIDES A SUBJECT SO VAST, that I can only touch on one or two facets of his career. I propose therefore to give some slight account of his life and character, and also of the impact which he made on industry in this neighbourhood.

He was born at Austhorpe Lodge in the Parish of Whitkirk in 1724. The house, now pulled down, was very close to the present roundabout at the junction of the A.63 with the Ring Road. His father was a prosperous attorney. He was educated at the Leeds Grammar School, which was then in Harrison's building in Vicar Lane — a somewhat austere seminary with a hard earth floor and no heating, where education was concentrated on religion, logic and the classics with the stimulating influence of the rod. 'God's instrument to cure the evils of their conditions, to drive out that folly which is bound up in their hearts'. It is interesting to note that mathematics was a subject of much lesser importance. The Smeatons were neighbours to my great-great-great-grandfather William, who was a yeoman clothier in Seacroft, — the first we believe of our family to engage actively in the textile trade. John Smeaton's father planned for him to follow the Law. But as we shall see he had other views.

Like the Elephant's Child he had a 'satiable curiosity' from his earliest years. He seized every opportunity to watch workmen at their tasks, to acquire such tools as he could find and to make little models — especially working models — of such crude machinery as then existed. It is recorded that he watched the setting up of some pumps at Garforth Colliery, and having acquired some piping made a miniature copy of them (steam engine and all), with which he pumped dry one of the fish ponds at his father's house — much to the distress of his father as well as of the fish. 'But Father, he said, it WORKS!'

His father either out of kindness or for reasons of self-defence allowed him the free use of an out-house for his experiments.

[1] Presidential Address given at the annual meeting of the Thoresby Society, 1969.

And there he gathered together a large collection of tools, mostly of his own making. By the time he was eighteen he had made a lathe, whereon he turned many objects in wood, metal or ivory, and even made a screw. It is highly probable that this lathe is the one now preserved in excellent condition with many of its tools in the Department of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Leeds. Originally it was turned with a large handle. But a later owner has fitted a treadle.

It must be realised that at this time there was no real mechanical engineering profession. Such machinery as existed was made by mechanics largely self taught, who had great practical but little theoretical skills. The vast mechanical and industrial developments of the later eighteenth and of the nineteenth centuries were yet to come.

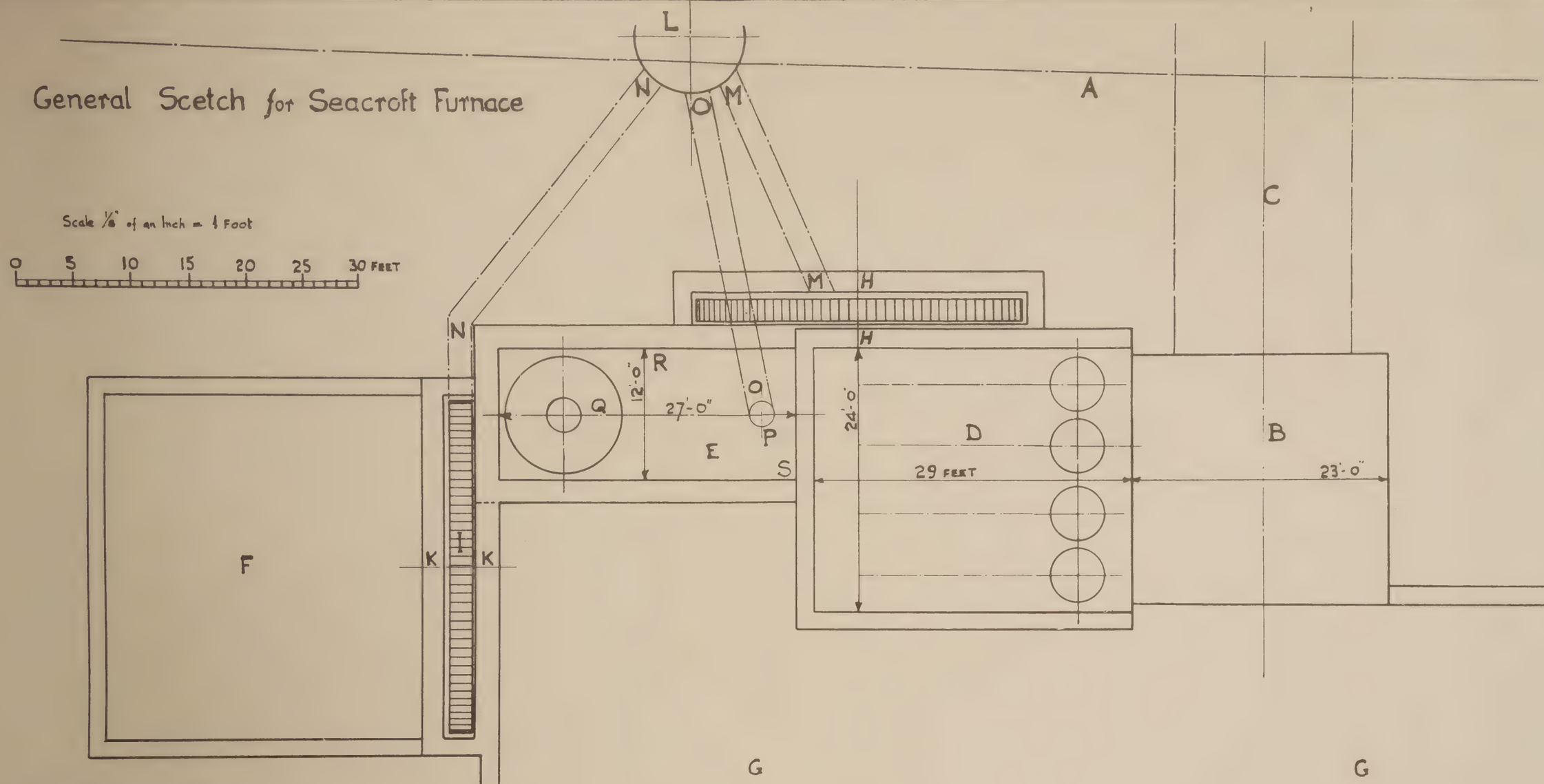
John's father had the good sense and consideration eventually to yield to his son's urgent request to allow him to give up the Law and to follow his natural bent. At the age of eighteen he went to London, and became apprenticed to an instrument maker. One can imagine the father's disappointment — a promising legal future jettisoned for the life of a workman, or so it seemed. But John had no intention that it should be so. He attended meetings of the Royal Society, and in his spare time made investigations into many abstruse problems. He became more and more interested in maritime and canal developments. For this reason he taught himself French, and thereafter visited the Netherlands to study the problems of water control.

By the time he was twenty-six he was a skilled instrument maker, and was master of his own business. Moreover he was well known to men of influence in London. New doors were opening to him.

Now it is not my purpose to trace his progress from success to success, nor to mention the great achievements on which his fame rests. Rather would I bring him back to Leeds, and remind you of his activities which concern us more directly. Suffice it to say that amongst his many major engineering works he built an improved Newcomen engine at New River Head in London. It was the custom at that time to prepare as well as to erect such machines on site. But it seems that Smeaton had a better idea.

The Seacroft area was well suited to the development of small engineering industry. Surface coal was plentiful, as also was wood for making charcoal. Iron was found in a wood near Seacroft Manor; and lime was at hand a little further to the west. Many

General Scetch for Seacroft Furnace



A the Furnace Bank
B the Stack
C the Bridge or sloping road to furnace Head
D the Blowing House
E the Engine House
F the Boring House
GG the Casting Shade or Foundery
HH the Axis of the Blowing Wheel
I the Boring Wheel
KK the Axis of the Boring Wheel to work at both ends: that is in the Boring House F or the foundery G
L the Lead or Leet that brings the water from the Reservour or Mill-pond
MM the troughts bring the water to the Blowing Wheel
NN the Do ——— Boring Wheel
OO the trough by which the water is returned from the Pump P which raises the water from RS the well into which the water of both wheels pass by underground conveyances and which also communicates with the main drain or level from Wyke Beck
Q the Boyler and Cylinder of the Fire-Engine

J. Smeaton 1779

Redrawn by Mr. F. L. Rosendale. Reproduced by permission of the Royal Society.

interesting items of Seacroft history have been recorded by the late Darcy Bruce Wilson and are now preserved among the Wilson of Seacroft records in Leeds City Archives Department. The first known record of a smelting furnace at Woodhall Carr, Roundhay. is in the Duchy of Lancaster Mines accounts of 1295-96, when the issue for seven weeks' work amounted to £3. 3s. There may have been several such furnaces.

The *Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey*[2] of the late XIIth or early XIIIth century records the gift by William de Sumerville to the monks of 'all the land with its appurtenances, which I hold between the village of Seacroft and Roundhay Wood as far as Wynmoor with the right to mine iron and with the woods and meadows with all their appurtenances in the area of Seacroft without restriction', with a further note 'that on condition that in every year in which the monks got iron stone they should provide him and his men of Seacroft with iron for their ploughs, and also that they should fill up the pits from which the stone had been taken'. This activity is remembered in the place name Iron Hills near Seacroft.

It seems therefore that Foundry Lane marks the site of very old workings. And its suitability is enhanced by the near presence of water power. Amongst the Wilson papers is a note with no quoted authority stating that William de Sumerville granted two water mills to the Priory at Bolton, and that after the dissolution of the monasteries these passed to the Duchy of Lancaster. That the mills referred to were those at the Foundry Lane site is clear from their later history. But it is surely unlikely that William de Sumerville would have given his iron to Kirkstall and his water mills to Bolton. However that may be, Queen Elizabeth I in 1577 granted to one Christopher Mather the right to make a leat from Ellers Close in Roundhay to his mill in Seacroft 'which he has lately built'. This leat, originally over a mile long, began where now Easterly Road crosses the Wyke Beck, and can still be traced for about half a mile. The remainder has completely disappeared beneath the new Seacroft Estate. In my childhood it was nearly all visible. It seems probable that Christopher Mather rebuilt and enlarged the old mills, and increased his water supply by this really remarkable leat — a wonderful achievement of calculated levels. In 1701 these mills, described as corn mills, passed to the Nelthorpe family and from them to the Wilsons, the last Lords of the Manor.

[2] *Thoresby Society Publications*, VIII (1904), 127 (charter clxxv).

No mention is made in this transfer of any iron workings. But it is certain that there was a colliery close to the corn mills. For in the Wilson records we find that Christopher Mather received the Manor of Seacroft from Queen Elizabeth I as a reward for having 'drained the colliery and cleared the water course'. We must assume that this colliery was a more or less horizontal shaft into the side of the hill near Killingbeck Hall, which had its opening above the corn mills. Christopher Mather therefore increased his water supply both by the leat and by the colliery drain. Perhaps the iron workings at this time were only small.

Smeaton lived only long enough to see the beginning of the age of steam. Though he effected marked economies in the use of fuel in existing engines — a fact gratefully recorded on a Boulton and Watt engine at Whitbread's Brewery — he laid no claim to the outstanding developments of such men as Watt. But Watt no doubt learned much from him, and often expressed his gratitude to and affection for 'Father Smeaton'. The problem of converting steam power into a rotary form was barely solved by the date of his death. In 1781 he gave his opinion to one of the Government Departments on the best source of power for a corn mill. He advised that a 'fire engine' should be used to pump water into a reservoir, and that this should be used to drive a water wheel. 'I apprehend' he wrote 'that no motion communicated from the reciprocating beam of a fire engine can ever act perfectly equal and steady in producing a circular motion like the regular efflux of water in turning a water wheel; and much of the good effect of a water mill is well known to depend upon the motion communicated to the mill stones being perfectly equal and smooth, as the least tremor or agitation takes off from the complete performance. Secondly all the fire engines that I have seen are liable to stoppages — and that so suddenly, that in making a single stroke the machine is capable 'of passing from almost the full power and motion to a total cessation'. He goes on to point out that a water mill stops gradually.

The same reasoning applied in 1779 in his advice on power for a coke furnace at the colliery. The outlet from the colliery was some thirty feet above the pond supplying the corn mill. As we have seen, Christopher Mather cleared the drain from this colliery for the common good of the colliery and the mill. Smeaton advised a twenty-eight foot overshot water wheel to drive the coke furnace, and also a fire engine as an auxiliary, which in dry weather would pump water from the pond to the wheel. He said that this engine

would use about four tons of slack a day at a cost of 3s. 3d.! In the same year, 1779, he gave advice on a fire engine to supply air for a blast furnace at the colliery. This then was the time when the foundry was being developed; and there is little doubt that Smeaton's interest in it arose largely from the use he made of it for the building of his engines. It is possible that both he and Lord Irwin carried much of the financial responsibility.

His later career was largely devoted to civil engineering, though he was always ready to give advice on small mechanical projects such as water mills and wind mills, textile machinery and such like. After his time several other foundries were built or enlarged, notably Butler's Forge at Kirkstall, Boulton and Watt, and Fenton, Murray and Wood in Hunslet. After Smeaton's death the Round-hay forge fell into disuse; and now every trace of it has gone. But until 1938 the neighbouring corn mill retained a worthy relic, a large water wheel which he made. It must have dated from about 1780, and was in working condition until 1912. This was a pitch-back wheel thirty feet in diameter and about four feet wide. The whole was made of wood except for an iron spider to hold the spokes to the axle, which itself was an oak stem about twelve feet long. Lubrication was maintained by the simple expedient of laying a lump of fat on the axle. As one would expect of a work of Smeaton's, the wheel ran very true. It developed forty horse power at ten revolutions per minute. After the closing of the mill the wheel was left derelict for many years. Then in 1938 the Leeds Corporation bought some eight hundred acres from the Wilson family with the intention of building the most beautiful housing estate in the country. Suffice it to say that the scheme is not yet complete. But the cornmills and the pond have shared the fate of the foundry. Foundry Lane is no longer a real lane. Kingfishers no longer haunt Wyke Beck. Strenuous efforts were made to save the wheel. Mr Roland Winn offered £1,000 towards its preservation either *in situ* or in a new building on the estate. But the City Fathers turned down both suggestions. However they agreed that a portion of it should be preserved at the Corporation Depôt near Crown Point Bridge. It is regrettable to report that a recent careful search has shown no trace of its survival.

Smeaton's other local activities were numerous. No engineering problem seemed to daunt him. He brought his shrewd common sense to bear upon all. In 1764 his advice was asked in a difficulty with the Aire navigation below Leeds. The river was already

provided with locks from the tidal limit upwards. But the supply of water was insufficient in dry seasons to keep the various reaches up to their proper level, and at the same time to allow a full use of the locks. Furthermore the riparian mill owners were apt to hold back as much of the water as they could for the benefit of their mill ponds. Smeaton found that the sills of the lower lock gates were in many cases too high, and the water correspondingly shallow. A long and detailed report followed with advice to deepen the locks, and to alter the position of some of them, thereby making better use of the natural drop of levels, to straighten some of the reaches by making new cuts and to enlarge the shoals (as he called them) to increase the reserves of water. The results were — and are — highly successful; and the traffic in the river correspondingly increased.

The Governors of Leeds Infirmary consulted him about the best way of curing a leak in a stone rainwater cistern, which had never been satisfactory. His advice to line it with lead included a detailed estimate of the cost both to the Infirmary and also by way of penalty to the widow of the man who made it. He clearly wanted to make things as easy as possible for her. He added some observations on the relative qualities of rain- and well-water, pointing out that the Infirmary was in the happy position of having a good supply of water suitable for brewing.

I must not end without some account of Smeaton's appearance and character. He was of medium height and strongly built. His portrait in Samuel Smiles's *Life* shows a broad forehead and a firm mouth and chin — in fact a good face if not a handsome one. He was without pretensions and of great modesty. But in his work and with his workmen there was no doubt who was the master. At the same time he worked with them and shared their risks. Though he mixed with the great, he never lost, nor wished to lose his Yorkshire dialect and blunt manners. In all he did he was conscientious to a degree, giving good measure pressed down and running over.

But despite his many activities and long absences from home he was the father of a devoted family. And life for his wife and daughters must have been trying at times, especially when some article of hard wood furniture was broken up for the making of some of his many tools. Moreover his daughters were pressed into the job of drawing his plans, which remain as a testimony of their patience and skill. One story must be told. He befriended a young man, and found him a good position of trust, being bound

together with another gentleman for his good behaviour in a large sum of money. The young man fell into bad ways, and was eventually convicted of forgery, which at that time was a capital offence. The same post brought to Smeaton the story of the man's ruin, a demand for his bond and the notice that the other gentleman had defaulted on his share. Smeaton's wife being ill, he kept the whole affair to himself until he had settled the debt. By his efforts the young man was saved from the gallows and given a new start in life.

Let us pay honour to a fine Yorkshireman, who is worthy of greater recognition not only in his native city but also in all England — an outstanding man, if ever there was one.

References: Samuel Smiles, *Lives of the engineers* (1861), II, 1-90.
Wilson of Seacroft Records, Leeds City Archives Dept.

ARTHINGTON NUNNERY[1]

by

C. A. LUPTON

THE SMALL NUNNERY AT ARTHINGTON derived its authority from the mother house at Cluny near Mâcon in France, the rule being based on that of St Benedict. Arthington was the only one of its kind in Yorkshire; and though it was always a very small and poor house, the history is of some interest in that it throws some light on the hard and miserable conditions of life obtaining for all but the rich in the XIIth to XV centuries.

The story is bound up with that of the castle and village of Harewood, which lay near the crossing of a road running from north to south, which forded the Wharfe near the present bridge, with a very ancient road along the south side of the valley, which probably ran through Weardley then north of the present church to the village. It was thus a site of considerable importance. It is not necessary for our purpose to trace out the complicated history of the castle, suffice it to say that it was in turn owned by the Romelli family, who were liberal patrons of Embsay and later of Bolton Priory, and by the Fitzgeralds who distinguished themselves at the Battle of the Standard at Northallerton in 1138. A later Fitzgerald (Waryn) was chamberlain to King John, who in 1209 granted a market to Harewood. The castle was probably begun in King Stephen's reign as part of the defences against the Scots. But the present ruin dates from the time of Edward I. A curious detail of carving still existing in the castle is the arms of Edward Baliol (*d.* 1363), king of Scotland. One of the many owners was then William Aldborough, who was a friend and servant of Baliol. Could this relationship account for the fact that at this time the castle was immune from Scottish attack? The Fitzgerald family were connected by marriage with the Redvers or Rivers family, who inherited Harewood, and with the de Lisle family, who owned the castle of Rougemont which lay a little upstream on the north bank of the river. This castle seems to have had no history of interest. It was destroyed after the Battle of Neville's Cross in 1346, when the danger of Scottish invasion faded away.

[1] Presidential Address, 1970.

Thus the little nunnery was a spectator of some of the important events which took place in the neighbourhood, and no doubt felt repercussions both good and bad. It was founded by a certain Peter de Arthington in about 1150. He gave the nuns 'the place the whilk the said abby is byggyd on, with all the appurtenaunces'. His grandson added one acre to their land and, what was more important, 'allso all the watyre that thay may lede to make yam a milne with and to their other usez necessarez'. (Such is the description of the grant in an award dated about Michaelmas 1447 in a dispute between a certain John Arthington and the Prioress in an unsuccessful attempt to turn the nuns out of their possessions.) Many other grants of land were made from time to time. But they were very scattered. For instance Alice de Romelli granted a moiety of Helthwaite and pannage for forty hogs in her woods at Swinton three miles north east of the nunnery. Only one other gift of any value from Harewood has come to light. Margaret de Redvers, great grand-daughter of Alice, who herself had a stormy life in the days of King John and many financial troubles owing to her husband's misdeeds, granted a carucate of land to the nuns at Burdon south of Weardley. This deed is dated at about 1240. In 1377 the tithes of the Rectory of Maltby near Doncaster were granted to the nunnery with certain lands near by. This must have been an unmanageable property; and we find later that the tithes were sublet to the Abbey of Roche, which paid an annual sum of between £4 and £5 to the prioress. Other land was at Stubhouse two miles south east, at Weston six miles to the west, and at Bramhope three miles to the south west. This separation must have made supervision very difficult. Moreover some of these gifts were conditional on the right to nominate a novice from time to time, should a vacancy occur. And in this we see one of the tragedies of the times. Life was short and precarious especially for men. The problem of the unmarried woman was a great one. No careers were open to her other than domestic work, and little occupation to keep her out of mischief. The purchase of a nomination thus combined godliness with the solution of a domestic problem. But what of the nominee? We shall find one or two sad stories in the history of Arthington.

Of the buildings nothing remains. The church which was on the site of the present orchard was a rectangular stone building sixty feet long and twenty-four feet wide. It was roofed with slate or stone and had a small wooden bell tower. There was an inner ceiling of wood. Windows were adequate in size, and were at

some time glazed with plain glass. The chancel was marked off from the choir by a wooden rood loft. Furniture was very simple, eight stools in the chancel and eighteen stalls in the choir. There was a small cloister on the south side. The prioress had a small separate chamber. There were also a chapter house, refectory and the usual domestic buildings. There was a priest's chamber near the gate; and the whole was surrounded with a wall. Possibly some of the present farm buildings mark the position of the conventual buildings. Clearly there was no money to spare for luxuries.

The nuns were always about ten in number. We know quite a lot about some of them. As we would expect, most were local women; for instance we read of Maude de Kesewyk, Custance de Daneport of Pontefract, Agnes de Skrevyn (? de Chevin), Ellen de Castleford, Isabella de Berghby (Birkby, Thorner), Maude de Batheley (Batley) and Isabel de Eccope; and it is clear from the records of their behaviour that some had no vocation for the life. We must remember that girls were professed at a very early age — sometimes at fourteen — and before they could possibly have known whether or not they had a vocation. It is perhaps surprising that disaster did not happen even more often than it did.

Very few of the Arthington nuns can have brought much endowment with them. The cost of hospitality was great; and so far as we know a welcome was readily granted to visitors at all times. In 1286 a visiting commission found that the income hardly sufficed for maintenance. It is clear too that there was considerable mismanagement, and farming was inefficient. In 1318 Archbishop Melton issued a long series of injunctions urging strict economy, that urgent repairs to the roofs be carried out, that a committee of the wiser nuns should be consulted over matters of importance such as the sale of wool, and that an account of debts, credits, pensions and corrodies be drawn up for his consideration. Nor was the prioress to grant any more corrodies pensions or liveries without permission on pain of deposition. It does not seem that corrodies, which were a kind of insurance based on a single lump sum payment in cash or kind, were in fact an important item of finance at Arthington. But at the time of the Suppression there were four recipients of liveries which were much the same thing, while nine lay servants received a large part of their wages in what are now known as emoluments.

But besides this mundane advice the Archbishop had a good deal to say about lax behaviour. All nuns were to be present at all the offices; absence was to be suitably punished. It appears that

lay sisters were in the habit of wearing the black veil, that is of dressing up as fully professed nuns. This was to cease. Lay people and boys were not to sleep in the dormitories; nor were outsiders to be taken as boarders without the Archbishop's permission. Clearly the prioress, who at this time was Maude de Batheley, had not been keeping her eye on things. In fact she was running a little establishment of her own. In future she was to 'keep convent in quire, cloister, refectory and dormitory.'

We read too of the presence of pets, which were frowned upon by authority. But they can hardly have enjoyed the soft life provided by Chaucer's Madame Eglantyne, who fed her 'smale houndes on rosted flesh or milk or wastel bread'.

But besides her pets Madame Eglantyne had 'a broche of gold full shene' bearing the motto AMOR VINCIT OMNIA. And this motto I fear appealed too strongly to some of the ladies of Arthington. In 1306 Edward I granted to Master Andrew de Tange, or as perhaps we may say de Tong, the right to nominate a novice. Master Andrew clearly had a purpose behind this arrangement. For we read that in 1312 Margaret de Tange, a nun, had left the house, and on being brought back to it underwent penance. We can imagine poor Margaret to be a problem child, whom the family hoped would be tamed in a nunnery. But her spirit was not yet broken. In 1319 she was again in trouble and again condemned to undergo penance for her 'demerits'. This term usually refers to immorality. She was to go to Nunkeeling, a nunnery near the bleak east coast, so as to be out of temptation's way. But it is doubtful if she ever went there. It seems probable that for the next two years she was free from all restraint. However, in 1321 she was back at Arthington, where she was condemned to be put in some secure place with her foot shackled if necessary. She was to say daily the whole of the service as a nun and two nocturnes of the psalter. When the prioress was assured of her contrition, she was to inform the Archbishop. Afterwards when restored to the convent she was to be last in church and refectory, but was not to attend Chapter, and every day was to receive a beating, all secular persons being excluded. We hear no more of Margaret. But despite all her frailties may we not spare her a little sympathy? In 1327 Robert de Tange, some strong minded relative, was appointed custos of the house.

In 1311 Isabella de Berghby was appointed prioress. She was young and inexperienced and obviously not capable of controlling Margaret; and an elder nun Isabella Couvel was appointed to share

the responsibility with her. Now Isabella Couvel was a Benedictine nun from Arden Priory, which lay on the western slopes of the Hambledon Hills. It is difficult to understand how she could be spared from Arden, where as we read in the reports the sins at this time were indeed as scarlet. The result was what one would expect — friction. And shortly afterwards Isabella de Berghby quit the nunnery and resumed secular life. However after some months she repented of her wickedness and returned to the nunnery, where she was (to use modern phrases) reduced to the ranks and confined to barracks. In her case the results were so good, that thirty-seven years later she was re-appointed prioress.

We read of one other instance of gross misbehaviour and immorality, which occurred one hundred and forty years later. But enough has been quoted to give an idea of the frustrations, temptations and hardships of this small community. And in spite of all it is good to read that at the time of the Suppression in 1540 the whole community of nine including the prioress 'be of good religious liffying and not slanderid'.

What happened to the nuns? The theoretical choices open to them were, first, to continue a cloistered life in another convent; or, secondly, to take pensions and to live as nuns in secular society; or, thirdly, to take what were known as capacities, whereby they were absolved from their vows of obedience and poverty but not that of chastity, and were sent out into the world with a small gratuity.

All the Arthington nuns, whose ages varied from twenty five to seventy-two, expressed a wish to continue a cloistered life. But by 1540 there were no nunneries left to which they could be sent. Life outside a convent can have had little attraction for them. In those days there were no careers for women other than marriage; and they would hardly be welcomed back by the families, who had sent them to a nunnery to get rid of them. Pensions were very small, varying from £1. 6s. 8d. p.a. to £3 p.a. at a time when £5 p.a. would barely provide subsistence. Capacities would have even less attraction. The vow of chastity still remained valid, which precluded legal marriage. We know no details; but we can be sure that life was hard for all of them. Most seem to have accepted pensions. It is only fair to point out that at first the annual cost of these pensions was £23. 3s. 4d. which was more than the total rents received from the property which totalled £21. 2s. 0d. An idea of the extreme poverty of the house can be gathered from the following details. According to the *Valor*

Ecclesiasticus the net value for tenth in 1535 was £11. 8s. 4½d. The demesne lands were valued at £5. 8s. 4d., and the site of the priory with its buildings at 5/- p.a.

The holders of corrodies and liveries continued to receive their due from the Court of Augmentations, as did paid lay officials. Tenant farmers were allowed to continue their holdings, provided that they farmed as efficiently as before. Servants were paid off with a small gratuity. But no doubt some were re-employed by the new owners of the building.

In 1547 Edward VI granted the buildings of Kirkstall and with them Arthington to Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. He realised that his position was precarious, and forthwith put Arthington in trust for his son Thomas. In 1554 after his fall and execution the property was forfeited to Queen Mary. In 1571 Thomas made a successful claim in the Court of Common Pleas for the restitution of the property, which in 1576 he sold to three local men, William Midgeley, probably of Breary, William Slaydon and Thomas Brigge. This last pulled down the church and other buildings, and built the present house, placing his initials and those of his wife over the front door. In 1590 Brigge sold the house to the Windle family. A later member of this family bequeathed money from the sale of the property to found Earby Grammar School near Thornton in Craven. It is good to know that at least part of the convent property reverted to a worthy communal use.

References: *V.C.H. Yorks.*, III, 187-90.
Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, IV, 518.

INDEX

Compiled by Miss V. H. F. A. Hinton, with the assistance of Mrs W. B. Stephens

Abett, Anthony, 205
Abraham, Henry, 52-3, 55, 60, 62*, 64*
Accrington (Lancs.), 158
Adams, *Rev.* Samuel, 108-9
Adel, 155-6, 157, 209; incumbents of, 208, 210
Adel Beck, 66
Admergill, John, 210
Aire, River, 50-1, 53, 164, 165; locks, 221-2
Aire and Calder Navigation, 82-3
Akroyd, *Mr*, 119-20
Aldam, William, 192
Aldborough, William, 224
Alexander, *abbot of Kirkstall*, (1147-1182), 158, 165
Alfred, *duke of Edinburgh*, 117
Allbut, *Dr*, 102
Allerton, Adam de, 157; Samson de, 156, 157
Allerton, 156, 157; East, 156, 157, 158; West, 156, 157
Allerton Gledhow, 155, 157
Allerton Grange, 206, 208*, 213
Alwoodley Bottoms, 52
Amberley, John, *viscount*, 128*
Ancient Order of Foresters, 183, 185
Anderson, Elizabeth Garrett, 130
Anglicans, 11-12, 17, 18, 19-21, 181*, 194, 196
Anti-Corn Law Campaign, 195
Arden Priory, 228
Ardsley, 154*, 155, 157*
Armitage, *Mr*, 127
Arthington, John, 225; Peter de, 225
Arthington Nunnery, 224-9; buildings, 225-6, 229; grants of land, 225
Arthur, *Prince*, 114-6
Askwith, William, 205
Atkinson, Alice, 133; Edward, 103; Fred, 133; John, 62; Joseph Robert, 59, 66; Mary (Hey), 132-3; William, 25
Atkyns, Richard, 216
Austhorpe, 155
Austhorpe Lodge, Whitkirk, 217
Austin, Alfred, 40, 42*
Auty, Edward, 36

Baines, Edward (1774-1848), 1, 3*, 5*, 9, 14*, 16*, 24, 27, 30, 34, 60, 63, 65, 66, 67, 72, 76, 77, 79, 114*, 116, 128-9, 181, 187-8, 192-3, 195, 196; *Sir* Edward (1800-1890), 8*, 13, 16-17, 18, 54, 56, 57, 61, 73, 197
Baker, Robert, 7, 26, 59*, 60, 75-6, 79-81
Baliol, Edward, 224
Barber, Richard, 205
Bardsey, 158
Barker, Joshua, 21
Barnby furnace, 164*
Barnsley, 210
Barr, Robert, 26, 31, 32*n*, 40, 78, 98
Barran, *Sir* John, *1st bart.*, 116
Barrett, *Sir* Edward, 161
Bateson, Joseph, 11*, 45; Richard, 205, 216
Batheley (Batley), Maude de, 226 227
Beckett, Thomas, 27, 57*, 59, 193
Becketts, *bankers*, 59
Beckwith, John, 13*n*, 24, 30, 31-2, 36*, 37*, 42, 43*, 44-8, 74
Beecroft, *Mr*, 128*
Belassys, Richard, 216
Berghby (Birkby), Isabella de, 226, 227, 228
Bertlett, Thomas, 206, 208, 213, 216
Bingley, Geoffrey Martin, 8*n*, 33*, 36-7, 68
Binns, John, 144*n*
Birkin, 205
Bishopsthorpe, 210
Bissington, Richard, 44, 45
Blayd, *Mr*, 59

Blomefield, John, 104-8, 109, 110
Bloomeries, 154-66
Bolton Priory, 219, 224
Books, from Kirkstall Abbey, 206
Boulton and Watt, forge, 221
Bower, Joshua, 72, 73, 187
Bramhope, 67, 225
Bramley, Richard, 18, 59*
Bramley, 156, 205, 210
Brandling, *family*, 91
Brigge, Thomas, 229
Briggs, John, 176*; William, 18
Broadhead, Joseph, 48
Broke, Richard, 207, 216
Brook, William, 21, 75, 77
Brougham, Henry, *Lord Brougham*, 181, 186, 192
Brown, Nicholas, 53, 63
Brown(e) *or* Ripley, John, *abbot of Kirkstall*, 204, 212, 213, 216
Browne, Gilbert, 208, 216; T.B., 42; Thomas, *of Adel*, 208
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, 141-2
Brumfitt, Thomas, 46
Burden Head, 155
Burdett-Coutts, Angela, *Baroness*, 118-9
Burdon, 225
Burial Grounds Act (1842), 17, 20*, 79
Burley, 161, 206, 210, 211
Butler, Rodney: *Kirkstall Forge*, 154, 164-5
Butler's Forge, Kirkstall, 221
Buttrey, John Armitage, 4-7, 9-11, 14, 23, 25, 26, 48, 54
Byland Abbey, 203, 212

Cadman, *Mr*, 193
Calverley, *Sir* Walter, 201
Campbell, *Sir* John, 26*
Carbutt, Francis, 21, 68, 69
Cardinham (Cornwall), 211
Carter, Robert Mack, 46, 69, 129*
Castleford, Ellen de, 226
Cawood, John, 39, 72; Martin, 72, 79, 198
Chadwick, *Sir* Edwin, 35, 103
Chantrell, R. D., 53
Chantries, 206, 207, 208
Chapel Allerton, 35, 155, 210
Chapeltown, 206, 208
Charlesworth, Edward, 12*
Chartists, 18-19, 21*, 36, 40, 69, 74-5, 76, 77-8
Chesterton, Thomas, *See* Yiddal *or* Chesterton, Thomas
Chiesman, John, 18, 54
Cholera Report (1833), 75
Cistercians, 154, 155, 201-16; General Chapter (1480), 202
Claighton (Claghton, Claughton), Henry, 211-2, 216
Claughton, Nicholas, 206
Claviger (Lancs.), 158
Clements, Charles, 35-6, 37-8
Cloth dressers, 182
Cloudesley, Peter, 213
Clughe, Henry, 206, 216
Cobden, William, 195, 196*
Coleman, George, 175-6
Collingham, 158
Combination Act (1826), 199
Cookridge, 155, 156, 157; manor, 162; wood, 162*
Cope, Charles, 133
Corson, *Mr, architect*, 105
Cotton, William I, 163; William II, 163
Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey, 219
Court of Augmentation, 229
Court of Common Pleas, 229
Couvel, Isabella, 227-8
Cowper, Richard, 210
Cranmer, Thomas, *abp*, 160; Thomas, *jr*, 229
Craven, Robert, 15
Crofts, Thomas, 216
Cromwell, Thomas, 204
Cummins, Charles, 193
Cunliffe, James, 191; Joseph, 190

Daneport, Custance, 226
Davies, Miss, 130-1; *Rev.* Richard, 176-8
Deakin, Maria, 133
Denby, John, 211, 216
Denison, C. B., 129
Denton, Richard, 211
Derham, Robert, 65*
Dibb, Thomas Townsend, 7, 106, 113, 133

Dickin, Thomas I, 163; Thomas II, 163
Dickson, Robert, 206*n*
Dissenters, 1, 3-4, 7, 10*n*, 11*, 12, 14-17, 19-20, 35, 41-2, 45, 55, 72, 74, 171-8, 194-6
Doherty, John, 191
Domesday Book, 155-7, 165
Drighlington, 211
Duncombe, *Admiral*, 129*
Dyall, George, 172-3
Dyers, 182*, 183, 185, 189 190*
Eagland, Thomas, 37
Earby Grammar School, 229
Eccope, Isabel de, 226
Eccup, 63, 64, 65, 66, 155; reservoir, 64, 67
Eddison, Edward, 68
Edward, *Prince of Wales* (Edward VII), visits Infirmary, 101-2
Ellers Close, Roundhay, 219
Elles, Richard, 205
Ellestones (Elystone, Elston), Thomas 208
Ellis, Nicholas, 209
Ellistone, Thomas, 208
Ellys, Richard, 209, 216; Thomas, 208 216
Embsay, 224
Engelran, 157
Evers, George, 31*

Factory Bill (1843), 19, 196
Fairbairn, *Sir* Andrew, 95, 98*, 106*, 107*, 129*; *Sir* Peter, 11*; *Sir* William, 85
Fairbairn-Lawson, *engineers*, 11
Fane, *Sir* Francis, 161, 162*, 163, 164; *Sir* Thomas, 162*
Farmery, William, 24*, 52
Farnall, H. B., 43-4, 46, 47-8
Fawcett, Richard, *Vicar of Leeds*, 3, 5-6, 9, 41, 181
Fawkes, Francis, 67-8
Fenton, *Mr, of Ebor House*, 91
Fenton, Murray and Wood, Hunslet forge, 221
Fielden, Joshua, 129
Filleter, *Mr*, 123-4
Firth, *Miss*, 120*; *Mr*, 120*
Fitch, *Mr*, 131*
Fitzgerald, *family*, 224*; Waryn, 224
Fladder, Ann, 208
Flax spinners, 1, 6
Fletcher, Elizabeth, 205
Fletcher *or* Jeffrayson, Richard, *curate of Leeds*, 205
Follett, *Sir* William, 74
Follifoot (Follyfoot), forge, 161
Foresters' Miscellany, 183
forges, 154-66
Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey, 158, 165
Fowler, Charles, 50, 52-3, 60, 62-3, 65-6
Fownes, Elizabeth (Spencer), 164; William I, 164; William II, 164
Fox, Lane, 66
Frazer, Thomas, 77
Friendly Societies, 183*

Garforth Colliery, 217
Garland, John, 13
Gaunt, Matthew, 193*
Giles, *Rev.* J. E., 13, 14
Gipton, 155, 209
Goodman, George, 14, 15, 55-6, 61, 67, 69*, 193
Gledhow, 155, 157
Gott, Benjamin, 1, 85*, 188-9; John, *Vicar of Leeds*, 118
Graham, *Sir* James, 33
Green, James, 190*
Greig, George, 33*, 74
Grimwell Bank wood, 162
Grymston, Hugh de, *abbot of Kirkstall*, 158*, 159
Hale, *Rev.* Richard, 147*
Hall, George, 208*, 213; Henry, 5, 12, 14, 59, 60; Isabell, 213; Robert, 12, 181
Halton, 155
Hammond, John, 181
Harewood, Henry, *2nd earl*, 61*, 62, 66
Harewood, 225; castle, 224; market, 224; village, 224
Hargraves, William, 167
Hatfield, 211
Hatton, *Rev. Fr.* Edward Antoninus, *O.P.*, 91*
Hawksworth wood, 162*

Headingly, 35, 155*, 156*, 157, 161; cornmill, 156
Heaps, Christopher, 31, 35*n*, 36, 37*, 59, 65
Heaton, *family*, 93-153; Aldam, 95; *Mrs* Aldam (Morley), 100-1; Ellen, 94, 95, 100-1, 116, 140-43, 148-55; Fanny, 94-5, 100-1, 109-10, 119, 121-2, 125-7, 130-1, 133-7, 148-53; Helen, 115-6, 122; John, 94, 133; John Deakin, 93-153; Loo, 131-2; Marion, 95, 105; May (Rucker), 115-6, 127, 134-5
Hebden, Thomas, 53, 59, 61, 65
Helthwaite, 225
Hemsworth, George, 161; Robert, 209, 216
Hendle, Walter, 216
Henryson (Harrison, Herrison), John, 206-7, 216
Heptonstall *or* Pomfret, Edward, 203, 206, 207, 211, 216
Herrison, John, *of Gipton*, 209
Herwood, John *See* Horwodd (Herwood), John
Heselwell (Hesylwell), [Haslewood?], 161*, 162, 166
Heselwode, 156-7
Hewes, Thomas Cheek, 81-90
Hewes and Wren, *millwrights*, 82, 83
Hey, Samuel, 103, 106, 127, 133; William, 59, 132
High Commission, 211, 213
Hill, Frederic, 180, 184, 185-6
Hinds and Derham, *worsted spinners*, 65
Hirst, George, 5, 7, 14
Hives and Atkinson, *flax spinners*, 73
Hobson, Joshua, 18, 75, 77-8
Hodgson, Clement, 213; Isabell, 213; Katherine (Stillington), 213; Thomas, 208, 213; Ursula (Hall), 213
Holdforth, James, 60
Hole, James 195
Holt, Joseph, 116
Hook, Walter Farquhar, *Vicar of Leeds*, 12-14, 16, 17*, 18-21, 41*
Horn, W. H. C., *engineer*, 85
Hornby, William, 46, 47
Horsforth, Nigel of, 164, 165*
Horsforth: Aylsirode, 165; Blooming Dale, 165*; Coltfal, 164; Cow Beck, 164, 165*; Den Bridge, 164; Den Grange, 164, 165; 'Flethaga', 164, 165; Gryndstonwell, 165*; North Crofts, 164
Horsforth Hall, Guiseley, 205
Horwodd (Herwood), John, 206, 216
Huddersfield, 208
Hudswell, *Rev.* William, 41*
Hume, Joseph, 192
Huncoat (Lancs.), 158
Hunshelf, manor of, 163
Hunslet: church, 98; forges, 221; Mechanics' Institute, 193; Mutual Improvement Society, 197; Thwaite Mill, 82-90
Hunter, *Dr* Adam, 15, 59, 184*, 186

Ikin, J. A., 30
Improvement Commissioners, 35, 51*, 53-6, 60, 72-4, 78-9
Inglis, *Sir* Robert, 195
Iron Hills, *nr.* Seacroft, 219
Iron-mining, 218-9; iron-works (Kirkstall), 154-66
Ironfounders, 72
Ironstone, 157*

Jackson, Anthony, 205, 216; *Rev.* Edward, 41-2
Jeffrayson, Thomas, 206
Johnson, Edward, 10, 13; Matthew, 24, 27, 30, 31, 34, 35*n*, 36, 45
Joint Stock Company, 59
Joy's, *millers*, 82*

Kemplay, Christopher, 34, 44*, 47, 48
Kesewyk, Maude de, 226
Kettlewell, William, 46, 47
Killingbeck, Edward, 213; Isabell (Hodgson), 213; William, 210
Killingbeck Hall, colliery, 220
Kippax, 209
Kirk, *family*, 162
Kirkby Overblow, 159
Kirkdale, 210
Kirkstall, Thomas, 204*, 210
Kirkstall, 154-66, 208; bloomery, 162-3, 164, 166; forges, 154-66, 221; manor, 160-1, 164

Kirkstall Abbey, 154, 156-7, 158, 160*, 165-6, 201-216, 229; books, 206; debts, 158-9; deed of surrender, 201, 213-5; deeds, 201; dissolution, 201; monks, 201-216
Kitson, James, 179-200; Thomas, 179, 183
Kitson, Thompson and Hewitson, *engineers*, 180, 198
Knaresborough, 159

Lacy, Henry de (*c.* 1117-*c.* 1187), 156; Henry de, *earl of Lincoln*, (*d.* 1311), 158*, 159*; Ilbert de, 156
Laird, David, 179
Laird, Kitson, and Company, *engineers*, 195
Lancaster, Henry, *3rd earl of*, (1280-1345). 159; Henry, *1st duke of*, (1351), 159; Thomas of (*d.* 1322), 159*
Lancaster, duchy of, 159, 219*
Land Clauses Consolidation Act (1845), 171
Langdon, Caleb, 145*
Lavers and Barraud, *glaziers*, 98, 100*
Layton, Richard, 203, 215

Leather, George, 60, 62-4; John W., 63-5, 67
Leather and Temperley, *millwrights*, 82
Leavesaxe, Richard, 211, 216
Lecke, *Rev., of Holbrook (Derbyshire)*, 108
Leeds:
Albion Street, reservoir, 50
Anti-Corn Law Association, 33
Art Gallery, 100
Asylum for the Blind and Deaf, 119
Board of Guardians, 30*, 37-8, 40-2, 44*, 45, 46-8, 49, 72
Brunswick Tavern, Camp Road, 179, 181, 182*, 183*, 185*, 193
Burial grounds: Burmantofts, Hunslet, Quarry Hill, St Peter's, 20
Burmantofts National Schools, 109
Call Lane Chapel, 171, 178*
Chamber of Commerce, 198
Chantry of Our Lady, 207
Chantry of St Mary Magdalene, 206
Chapels: *See under individual names*
Christ Church, Meadow Lane, 4
Churches: *See under individual names*
Churchwardens, 1-22, 23-4, 25-7, 30, 54*
"Claremont", 23 Clarendon Rd, 93-153 *passim*
Conversation Club, 112, 122
Corporation, 1-2, 7, 12, 21-3, 26*, 55, 221
Council, 10, 20-1, 36-7, 40, 43, 48-9, 51, 56*, 58*, 61, 62, 68*, 69*, 75*, 76, 77-80, 111-13; aldermen, election of, 36*; mayors, 1, 11*, 15-6, 21, 55, 114*, 116, 117-8, 179-200
Ebor House, Middleton Road, 91-2
Emmanuel Church, Woodhouse Lane, 107, 110-11
Exchange, 116
General Infirmary, 98-102, 198, 222; chapel, 98-9, 102
Girls' High School, 131
Grammar School, 167*, 206*n*, 217
Guardians. *See* Board of Guardians
Harehills Lane Baptist Church, 171, 178
Holy Trinity Church, 4
Huntite Radical Political Union, 116
Improvement Act(s). *See* Leeds Improvement Act(s)
— Commission. *See* Leeds Improvement Commission
— Society. *See* Leeds Improvement Society
Infirmary. *See* General Infirmary
Inspector of Smoke, 111-2
Invalid Soup Kitchen, 137-9
Lady Lane, 34
Lands Lane, reservoir, 50
Literary Institution, 197
Manors, 155
Mayors. *See* Council (*and also under individual names*)
Mechanics' Institute, 99*, 117, 179-200
Medical School, 103-4
Mill Hill Unitarian Chapel, 194*, 196*

Leeds:
Mill Hill Sewing School for Factory Girls, 121-2
Moot Hall, Briggate, 72
Municipal Corporation Commissioners, 52, 57
Newspapers. *See under individual names*
North Street General Baptist Church, 171, 178*
Overseers of the Poor, 23, 25-31, 33*, 35, 37-8, 40, 48, 49*
Parish, 19
Parish Church [St Peter's], 2, 6, 13, 18, 181, 206; vestry, 2, 4-6, 8, 9-10, 12-13, 17-8, 24, 26-7, 54-5, 72, 74, 76-7; vicars, 3, 5, 6, 9, 13-4, 16, 17*, 18, 19-21, 41*, 181, 212
Ratepayers, 2, 39, 43
Rates Inquiry Committee, 44
Regiments: Volunteer Rifle Corps, 101
St George's Church, Gt George Street, 104-9
—— Mount Pleasant, 181
St George's National School, 109-10
St James' Church, York Street, 4
St John's Church, 4, 50
St Mark's Church, Woodhouse, 4
St Mary's Church, Quarry Hill, 4
St Paul's Church, Park Square, 4
Salem Chapel, 41
Schools: Burmantofts National School, 109; Girls' High School, 131; Grammar School, 167*, 206*n*, 217; Miss Plint's, 145-6; St George's National School, 109
Sewage, 81
Short Time Committee, 181*, 182, 184
Skinner Lane Sewerage project, 81
Smoke Inspector, 111-2
Sorocolds Waterworks, 50
Surveyors of Highways, elections for, 78
Ten Hours debate, 182*
Timble Beck, 182*
Town Commissoners, 54
Town Council *See* Council
Trades Unions, 179-200
Leeds:
United Committee, 56*, 58-9, 60*
Volunteer Rifle Corps, 101
Wards: East, 75, 79; Kirkgate, 46*, 81; Mill Hill, 75, 80; North, 46*; North West, 193; South, 65, 80-1; West, 59, 80
Water supply, 50-70
Waterworks, 65
Wintoun Street, 172
Wintoun Street Baptist Church, 171-8
Woodhouse Ridge, 52
Workhouse, 34*, 35
Workhouse Board, 3, 6, 10, 23*, 24-8, 31, 32*, 39, 48
Leeds and Thirsk Railway Company, 67
Leeds Art and Industrial Exhibition, 99*
Leeds Association, 187
Leeds, Bradford and Halifax Railway, 119-20
Leeds Bridge, 114*
Leeds Church Extension Society, 107-8, 110
Leeds Exhibition, 99*
Leeds Improvement Act (1824), 112; (1842), 17, 78-81, 112, 113*; (1869), 171
Leeds Improvement Bill (1842), 80; (1865), 112*, 113*; (1866), 113*
Leeds Improvement Commission, 71
Leeds Improvement Commissioners, 35, 51*, 53-6, 60, 72-4, 78-9
Leeds Improvement Society, 111-3
Leeds Institute, 197
Leeds Intelligencer, 6, 18, 25, 28, 31, 188
Leeds Mercury, 6, 12, 16-17, 26, 29, 76, 182, 188*
Leeds Nether Mill, 82
"Leeds New Move", 15
Leeds Operative Conservative Society, 7, 60, 73
Leeds Parliamentary Reform Association, 15
Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 197*
Leeds Political Union, 10
Leeds Times, 12, 16, 17*, 30

Leeds United Institute for the Blind and Deaf, 119
Leeds Waterworks Act (1837), 51, 62, 66; (1847), 67
Leeds Waterworks Company, 61
Lees, *Dr* Joseph, 10, 129, 187
Legh, Thomas, 203
Leigh, Gilbert, 210, 213; Robert, 161
Lelay (Leathley), William, 165*
Leversage (Leversege), John, 211; Richard, 211; Robert, 211
Liberals, 2, 4-11, 13-21, 23-7, 29, 31*, 35-7, 40-1, 43-9, 54-5, 58-61, 72-5, 80, 129, 181, 192, 193*, 195-6
Lincoln, *earl of*, *See* Lacy, Henry de
Linsley, Joseph, 48
Lisle, de, *family*, 224
Lister (Lyster, Lytster), John, 206, 211, 216
Lofthouse (Loftous), Gabriel, 204*, 207, 216
Luccock, *family*, 194; John Darnton, 35*, 68-9
Lupton, Arthur, *sr*, 112, 195; Arthur, *jr*, 196; Darnton, 10, 13, 24, 27, 39-40, 45-6; William, 127, 208*, 216
Lushington, Stephen, 7*
Lyster, John *See* Lister (Lyster, Lytster), John

Macaulay, Thomas Babington, *1st baron*, 182, 187
Maison, Paul *See* Mason (Maison), Paul
Maltby, rectory, 225
Mann, Alice, 37; James, 187
March, Joseph Ogden, 11
Markland, Bertie, 37
Marsden, Henry Roland, 117-8
Marshall, H. C., 78*; John, 1, 6, 60*, 182, 187*, 193, 194, 195
Mason, *Mr*, *relieving officer*, 37
Mason (Maison), Paul, 204*, 207, 209-10, 213, 216
Mather, Ann, 39; Christopher, 219, 220*
Mathew, John, *chantry priest*, 207; John, *monk of Kirkstall Abbey*, 207, 210*, 216
Maud, Samuel, 24*; William M., 9, 59
Mauleverer, *family*, 165
Meanwood, 156
Meanwood Beck, 156*, 161
Megson, Arthur, 42-3
Melton, William de, *abp.*, 226*, 227*
Middleton, 210, 213
Midgeley, William, 229
Million (Church Building) Act (1818), 4
Mills, 82*, 156*; Armley, 50, 188; Bean Ing, 188; Castleford, 82; Eastington (Stroud), 85; Fleet, 82; King's Mill, 50; Knottingley, 82; Leeds Nether Mill, 82; Thwaite, 82-90
Milner Field, *nr.* Saltaire, 125-6
Mitchell, Stephen, 10
Moke (Mooke, Monk), Thomas, 202, 211, 216
Molesworth, *Sir* William, 192
Monk, Thomas, *See* Moke (Mooke, Monk), Thomas
Monk Bretton Priory, 208
Monks, *of Kirkstall Abbey*, 201-16
Mooke, Thomas *See* Moke (Mooke, Monk), Thomas
Morgan, Mr, *Liberal agent*, 46*
Municipal Corporations Commissioners, 72
Musgrave, James, 9, 10*n*, 53, 60; William, 11
Mustel, Roger, 156; William, 156
Mutual Improvement Society, Hunslet, 197
Mylne, W. C., *engineer*, 53*, 55, 60
National Association for the Protection of Labour, 191
Naylor, C., *solicitor*, 32*n*, 37
Nell, D. W., 78
Nelson, *Mr*, 105*
Nelthorpe, *family*, 219
Nevil, *Sir* Robert, 160, 161, 162
Neville, Mary, 162
Neville's Cross, battle, 224
New Grange, Kirkstall, 160
New River Head, London, 218
Newall, Richard, 209
Newhall, manor of, 163, 164
Newhall Bank, furnace, 164
Newton, Ann, 179; George, 6; Richard, 209
Nicholls, *Rev.* C. H. S., 42*, 43*n*
Nonconformists *See* Dissenters

Normanby, Constantine Henry, *1st Marquis of*, 76
Northallerton, 224
Northes, William, 208
Northives, William, 208, 216
Nunkeeling, 227
Nussey, George, *jr.*, 13; Obadiah, 116*

Oastler, Richard, 181, 188*
Osburn, William, *jr.*, 12*
Otley, Thomas, 210
Otley, 205
Owenites, 191*, 195
Oxford, Cistercian College of St Bernard, 202
Oxley, Henry, 114*

Paganel (Paynel), Ralph, 156; William, 156; William (*d.* 1188), 156
Paget, *Mr, surgeon to the Queen*, 103, 104
Pakeman, Robert, 160*, 161
Parochial clergy (Yorks.), 212
Partridge, Lindon, 176, 177*, 178
Paul, William, 73
Pearson, *Rev. Mr*, 102
Pease, *Mr*, 72
Pensions, to monks, 201-16
People's Charter, 18
Pepper, John, 205, 210; Thomas, 205*, 208, 209, 210*, 212, 216
Perring, Robert, 6, 7, 8*, 9*, 13-14, 15, 24*, 52*, 54*, 58, 59, 60, 65, 66, 74, 181
Philips and Lee, *millers*, 85
Pietevin, William de, 156*
Pilgrimage of Grace, 204
Plint, *Miss*, 145-6; Thomas, 180, 197
Plug Plot, 80
Pollock, *Sir* F., 26*
Pomfret, Edward *See* Heptonstall *or* Pomfret, Edward
Pontefract, meeting at, (1536), 204
Poor Law politics, 3, 23-49, 54
Poor Law Amendment Act (1834), 28, 29, 35
Poor Law Board, 43, 45, 46*
Poor Law Commission, 28*, 30-2, 34, 35*, 37, 38-9, 40, 43, 45
Poor Law Guardians, 29
Potter, John 206
Potter Newton, 35, 155
"Powlett, John", 189
Powers, Alfred, 28*, 29-30, 33
Preston (Yorks.), 155, 209

Rawson, *Mr*, 72
Read, *Mr, Chief Constable*, 59
Recusants, 212-3
Redvers (Rivers), *family*, 224; Margaret de, 225
Reffitt, *Mr*, 106
Reform Act (1832), 187*
Regiments: Leeds Volunteer Rifle Corps, 101; Yorkshire Hussars, 101
Reid, *Sir* Thomas Wemyss, 93
Reineville, William de, 156
Rennie, John 82*
Reynard, Jonathan, 39
Rhodes, *Mr*, 37
Richardson, Joseph, 20*, 68
Richmond, John, 207
Richmond, parish church, 207
Rievaulx Abbey, 203, 212
Rimington, *Miss*, 108
Ripley, John *See* Brown(e) *or* Ripley, John
Roche Abbey, 225
Romelli *family*, 224; Alice de, 225
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 151*
Rothwell Haigh (Rodwell Hage) forge, 161
Rougemont Castle, 244
Roundhay, 157*, 158, 159*; Ellers Close, 219; Park, 114-7; Wood, 219; Woodhall Carr, 219
Royal Order of Foresters, 183*
Rowand, George, 174-5
Rowell, *Rev.* Frederick Thomas, 109
Rucker, Arthur, 115, 134-5
Rufford Abbey (Notts.), 202
Rufforth, 211
"Russell justices", 27

Sadler, Benjamin, 181*, 182, 187, 191*n*
Salt, Titus, 125-6; *Mrs* Titus Salt, 125
Sandall, Edward, 208-9, 216
Savile, *families*, 160*n;* John, *Lord*, 161, 162; *Sir* Robert, 160
Sawley, 211
Scarth, Gilyard, 59
School, 206

Scott, Melville, 108
Seacroft, 154, 155*, 157*, 158, 159, 161*n*, 166, 217, 218-9; Easterley Road, 219; forge, 220-1; Foundry Lane: cornmills, 219, 220, 221; ironworkings, 218-9, 220; manor of, 218, 220; Wyke Beck, 219, 221
Seacroft Estate, 219
Select Committee on the Health of Towns, Report (1840), 76
Sellers, William, 46
Sermones Discipuli, 206
Shadwell, 158
Shann, Thomas, 12*
Shaw, John Hope, 21, 68, 69*; Thomas, 172*
Shawe, John, 211
Sheepscar Beck, 51
Sidney, Thomas, 26
Silby, Robert, 174*
Singleton, Richard, 48
Skrevyn, Agnes de, 226
Slaydon, William, 229
Smeaton, *family*, 217; John, 217-23
Smiles, Samuel, 15*, 73, 179, 194*
Smith, George, 24; Samuel, 104; William, 15, 16
Snawe *See* Snow
Snow (Snawe, Snowe, Shawe), John, 211, 216
Society of Stuff Singers, Dyers, Pressers and Finishers, 182
Somerville, William de, 157*
Spark, *Dr* William, 117
Spencer, *family*, 163-4; Frances (Barnby), 164; John I, 163, 164; John II, 163, 164*; John III, 163; Randolph, 164; Walter, 164
Spofforth, Richard, 207
Spofforth, 159, 205
Sponge, John, 206
Stables, *Mr*, 106
Standard, Battle of the, 224
Standecliff (Standclyff), Richard, 207, 216
Stansfield, Hamer, 15-16
Statistical Committee, Report (1839), 75, 76
Stead, Richard, 48
Steel manufacturers, 194
Stephen, 165
Stillington, Katherine, 213
Strutt, William, 85*
Stubhouse, 225
Sumerville, William de, 219*
Swillingford, 209
Swinstey Hall, 123
Swinton, 225
Sykes, *Ven.* Edmund, 167-70, 210, 213; James, 167, 210, 213

Tadcaster, 209
Tang (Tong), Andrew de, 227; Margaret de, 227; Robert de, 227
Tatham, *Mr*, 111
Taylor, *Rev.* R. V., 13*; Ralph, 181, 185; Tom, *dramatist*, 114*; *Rev.* William, 171, 172, 173
Ten Hours Association, 193
Ten Hours Bill (1831), 181
Ten Hours movement, 181-2, 184, 185, 187*, 192, 193
Tennant, Thomas, 18, 129*
Tetley, Frank, 127*
Theed, *family*, 128; *Rev.* Thomas Maylin, 127*
Thoresby, Ralph, 201*n*, 213
Thorner, John, 207
Thornton, John, *Vicar of Leeds*, 212
Thorogood, John, 195-6
Thurnell, George, 184-5
Thwaite Mill, Hunslet, 82-90
Todd, Charles, 179; Samuel, 172-5
Tories, 2, 5-9, 10, 11-12, 13, 14-15, 18*, 21*, 24-5, 26, 27*, 29*, 30, 31-2, 36, 37*, 38, 40-1, 43, 44*, 45, 48-9, 54, 55*, 58, 59-60, 61, 72-5, 80, 129*, 181*, 187-8, 192, 193
Tottie, Thomas William, 1, 45-6, 55, 66, 193
Tonbridge (Kent), forges, 162
Trade Protection Society, 198
Trades Unions, 179-200
Tudor Crockford (Borthwick Institute), 205, 208*, 209, 210
Tunnicliff, Jabez, 171

Valor Ecclesiasticus, 208, 228-9
Vavasour, William, 161

Wailes, William, 7, 8
Walton Hall, *nr* Wakefield, 120-1

Waring, *Mr*, 99-100
Wasche, Benedict, 208
Washbourne, reservoirs, 122
Washburn, River, 67*, 68
Waterton, Charles, 120*, 121
Watt, James, 220
Weardley, 224
Weavers, 188-191; stuff weavers, 189-191; woollen weavers, 190
Weetwood (Whetwode), 161*, 162, 166
West Riding of Yorkshire Society of Mill Owners and Manufacturers, 190
Weston, 225
Wharfe, River, 67, 224
Wheelhouse, *Mr*, 129*
Whetwode *See* Weetwood
Whigs, 12, 29, 129, 181, 187*, 188, 192-3
Whinmoor *See* Wynmoor
White Beck, 53
Whitbread's Brewery, 220
Whiteley, Eli, 190*
Wicksteed, Charles, 194
Wilkinson, John, 11
Willans, Charles, 175*
William, the Smith, 165*
Williams, *Dr* James, 65
Williamson, James, 76, 184, 186
Wilson, *family, of Seacroft*, 219*, 220, 221
Wilson (Wylson), Christopher, 206, 207, 216; Darcy Bruce, 219; Otivell, 206, 207; Thomas, 210*, 213, 216; Thomas, treasurer, *Leeds Improvement Society*, 111
Windle, *family*, 229
Windrith(e), Leonard *See* Wyndresse (Windrithe, Wyndrith), Leonard
Winn, Roland, 221
Wodd, Richard, 208, 209, 216
Woodhall Carr, Roundhay, 219
Woollam, *Rev.* William, 126
Wortley, *Sir* Francis, 162, 163
Wortley (Sheffield), bloomery, 162*, 163; forges, 163*, 164; manor of, 163
Wylson *See* Wilson
Wyndresse (Windrithe, Wyndrith), Leonard, *sub-prior of Kirkstall*, 205, 210, 216
Wyndrith, Henry, 205, 206
Wyndworth, Henry, 205, 206
Wynmoor (Whinmoor), 157, 219

Yeddal (Yiddall), *or* Chesterton, Thomas, 207, 210
Yewdall, John, 3, 80-81
York, Leonard, 205
York, chantry of St Thomas, St Dennis, Ouse Bridge, 208
—, St Mary, Castlegate, 210
Yorkshire Baptist Association Committee of Investigations, 178
Yorkshire Exhibition (1875), 117-8
Yorkshire Hussars, 101